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LIFE AND ADVENTURES  
OF  
NATHANIEL PEARCE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

DURING

A RESIDENCE IN ABYSSINIA,

FROM THE YEARS 1810 TO 1819.

TOGETHER WITH

MR. COFFIN'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO GONDAR

EDITED BY

J. J. HALLS, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:  
HENRY COLBURN AND RICHARD BENTLEY,  
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1831.

230.





LONDON :

F. SHOBERL, JUN., LONG ACRE.



TO THE  
EARL OF MOUNTNORRIS, F. R. S.,

ETC. ETC. ETC.

MY DEAR LORD,

I willingly avail myself of your kind permission to dedicate the following pages to your Lordship. To whom, indeed, could I with so much propriety address them, as to the noble individual who has, during a period of nearly thirty years, been pleased to honour me with the most unequivocal marks of his friendship and esteem, and to whose kindness and liberality I am indebted for the copyright of the work?

It was under the immediate auspices of your lordship, that my late lamented friend, Mr. Salt, undertook his first journey to Abyssinia; an event, which accidentally led to your lordship's first acquaintance with the author of this Journal—one of those remarkable and adventurous beings, whom Nature, in her sportive humour, seems to take delight in creating.

He was found by your lordship in the most forlorn and deplorable condition, and it was through your benevolence, seconded by the efforts of Mr. Salt, that the outcast became reclaimed, and once more obtained a



reputable footing in society. His gratitude for the favours he received terminated only with his life, and I am sure it must prove a source of lasting satisfaction to your lordship, that you were made the immediate instrument of rescuing a fellow-creature from that destruction, which early misconduct had nearly rendered inevitable.

With respect to the Journal itself, it possesses no claims to literary distinction. It is the artless and unvarnished narrative of an uncultivated, but strong and original mind, and, in preparing it for the public, it has been my chief endeavour to retain, as much as possible, the sense and language of the original, and to confine my alterations merely to such corrections in orthography, grammar, &c., as would tend to render it more clear and intelligible to the reader. It is, however, greatly to be regretted, that the various private and public avocations of Mr. Salt, and his untimely death, prevented him from fulfilling his intention of superintending the publication of the manuscript.

With every kind wish for your lordship's prosperity, health, and happiness, I remain, my dear lord,

Your Lordship's

faithful Friend and Servant,

J. J. HALLS.

*Harrow, June, 1831.*



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LIFE OF NATHANIEL PEARCE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

AND ADDRESSED TO HENRY SALT, ESQ.

*Adowa, July, 1817.*

SIR,

ACCORDING to your desire, which I am very happy to obey, I send you every particular of my life that I can possibly recollect, previously to my becoming acquainted with you; scandalous as it is, the truth of it will shame the devil.

I was born at East Acton, Middlesex, on the 14th day of February, 1779, and before I was seven years of age I had learned to read and write a little, at a day-school in Acton. My father, seeing me more inclined to wildness than the book, sent me as far from him as possible, thinking it would be for my good, which was to the Rev. Daniel Adderson's academy, at Thirsk, in



Yorkshire, where I remained exactly six years, during which time my mind was constantly given to bird's-nesting, and to all manner of wild tricks, for which I was continually punished severely, till I got so hardened, that, at last, I did not mind a flogging for a pocketful of apples, or a jack-daw's nest; and, at the end of the six years, the only improvement I had made in my scholarship was, that I had got through the French Grammar, and, in summing, into vulgar fractions, which I can assure you was not the fault of my master or his ushers, whom I fairly tired out.

My poor old father, who loved me as he loved his life, expecting, when he sent for me home, to find me sufficiently learned to go into any kind of business, received me with tears running from his eyes, and, unable to express himself at the joy of seeing me, caught me round the neck in his arms, the same as if I had risen from the dead; hardened though I was, I also shed a flood of tears. The next day, several of my father's friends sent to him, begging that he would allow me to pay them a visit, to which he gave his consent. My sister took me to several of our family's acquaintances, all of whom expressed great joy at receiving me, and asked me several questions concerning how far I had got in my studies; one especially, a rank Methodist, asked me to read a



few chapters in the Testament. This request very much shamed me, and I at first refused, saying that I was not well; however, he clapped the book into my hand, and I began hammering and stammering, which so much surprised the holy gentleman, that he said, "The Lord be with you my child! you are a great dunce."

This unhappy discovery was soon reported to my father, who felt very much for my misfortune; though, from the tender affection he had for me, he never pretended to be angry when I was in his sight. He knew perfectly well the wildness of my mind, and always pretended to be well pleased, for fear I should take flight; he constantly gave me good advice, and sent me again to Dr. Hall's academy in East Acton, where I learned more in five or six months than I did the whole six years in Yorkshire. I soon, however, began my wild tricks again, and was continually playing truant; and, as the severest punishment had no effect upon me, my father at last determined, if possible, to break me in. He accordingly sent me apprentice to a stubborn and unmerciful carpenter and joiner, in Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London, of the name of Thatcher.

Being unable to bear his sulky look and heavy fist, I soon found my way to Wapping, where, at



New Crane Stairs, I met with a waterman, to whom I told my mind. Glad of his prize, he put me into the stern-sheets of his boat, like a gentleman, and pulled me on board of a bark called the Commerce of London. The mate, seeing me well rigged, was very particular in inquiring into my character, &c. &c.; especially where I was born, and whose son I was. Having been taught by the waterman what answers to give, I perfectly satisfied the mate, the captain being on shore; seeing me a well-limbed, likely lad, he paid the waterman, and gave him some drink for his trouble. At sunset, the captain came on board, and the mate immediately presented me to him. He looked at me for some time, and asked, in his broad Yorkshire accent, where I came from. Being well acquainted with the Yorkshire dialect, I answered as he liked, and told him I was born at Sutton, near Thirsk, in Yorkshire. He asked me if I knew Beverley, where he said he was born. I told him I had heard of it, but had never been there. He asked me several other questions, to which I gave good answers, but when he asked me with whom I came to London, I was at a loss to find out a lie that would satisfy him; so, with my stammering, he began to be doubtful of what I had told him being truth. However, he said he would report me to the owner, and get me an



apprentice's indentures and clothing. The waterman, who pulled me on board, knowing all my secrets, soon, for the sake of a shilling or two, went to my sister, and told her what he had done with me, I having been fool enough to tell him that I had a sister living in the Minories. About three or four days afterwards, one of the apprentice-boys told me that my father was at the owner's house in Mile-End; the owner's name was Kiddy. My poor father did all he could to coax me back, but to no purpose, as I swore I would tie a shot to my neck and jump overboard sooner than go back. He at last found it all in vain; so he bought me sailor's clothing and every necessary, and left me with tears in his eyes.

I made one voyage to Petersburg, and, on my return, went to see my sister, who kept me with her until she sent to my father, who soon came and took me home. As we rode home in a chaise-cart, the poor affectionate old man asked me if I had had enough of the sea, and gave me several good pieces of advice, and promised me that he would do many things if I would be dutiful. I remained nearly three weeks pretty quiet; but, beginning again my old faults, my friends advised my father once more to put me apprentice in London, which he again did, and sent me to a wholesale and retail leatherseller's, in Duke



Street, West Smithfield. My master, whose name was Martin, in a few weeks liked me very much, and entrusted me more than any one in his house; he scarcely ever required me to do any thing, but to go on messages to Lombard Street with bills of exchange, &c.; in doing which I always gave him great satisfaction, and never was wrong in bringing him any sum of money that I might have received from the bankers, or the houses of creditors. However this did not last long; my mistress, Mrs. Martin, and I, did not agree, so I packed up my kit of clothing when my master was absent, and set out for Deptford, where I found a boat's crew of young lads, like myself. We soon got acquainted;—they belonged to a new sloop of war, called the Alert, then just fitting out; one of them fetched me a dress of his own from the ship, and I sold my fore-and-afters, or long clothes, to a slopman. When we had spent the whole of the money, I went on board with my new companions and entered. I was immediately put upon the ship's books, and ordered to do my duty in the afterguard, but soon after in the maintop. After the ship was completely fitted out, we dropped down to Long Reach, where I was again surprised to see my father and master come on board. They said but little to me, knowing it to be too late; but they



begged of the captain, Charles Smith, and the first lieutenant, Mr. Atkins, to be as favourable to me as possible, and gave them to understand all my faults. They then returned home, leaving me some pocket-money in the first lieutenant's hands.

We went two cruizes in the North Sea, accompanied by the Albicore, after which we were ordered to Sheerness, to fit out and take in provisions for six months. One evening, after clearing a lighter of provisions, on her shoving off from alongside, the topping-lift of her main-boom got over the outer boom-iron of our main-yard; we immediately let go the main braces, that she might not spring the yard. As she hung, with a rapid tide, I ran out upon the yard-arm, and began to cut away her topping-lift; but, before my knife had got through one strand, the heavy strain snapped the topping-lift all of a sudden, and the slack of the main brace, not being gathered in the yard, went with such a swing, that it threw me over the lighter into the middle of the stream. The boats were immediately manned and shoved off to pick me up, but neither officers nor men expected to find me, the night being very dark; and they thought the breath must certainly have been out of my body before I reached the water. One of the boats, the jolly-boat, luckily, not being



able to pull against the tide, drifting down to the point, came close to me, as I was swimming, as I thought, towards the shore; as soon as I saw her, I sung out, and they gladly hauled me in half-dead; they pulled up along shore, and we reached the ship, the officers all being greatly surprised. They gave me as much grog as I chose to drink. During the whole time I was in the water, I never let the knife go out of my hand. My father, being informed of the accident, came with all haste, and once more shewed the tender affection he had for me.

When the ship had completed her provisions, we were ordered to Portsmouth, and soon after to Plymouth, where we took a packet on board for Newfoundland. On the 10th day of May, 1794, we were chased by *L'Unité*, French frigate, of 44 guns, and, although we put on every stitch of sail we could, she came up with us fast: our captain, seeing it was to no purpose to try to outrun her, turned the hands up to shorten sail, and afterwards beat to quarters. I, being quartered in the main-top, had a clear view of her black sides, as she came up to windward; before she had time to take in her small sails, our main-top-sail was clapped to the mast, and our broad-side poured into her. Superior as she was, we kept her at it at close quarters, for one hour and



three quarters; we had only two foremast-men, who were quartered in the mizen-top, and one marine killed, but several wounded. I was among the party of prisoners, with the captain, who was taken on board the frigate; the remainder of our crew being left on board our own ship. On the 24th, we were drafted on board different ships in the grand French fleet, which we that day fell in with. I was among a party that was sent on board *Le Trajan*, 84 guns. Some had the good fortune to be put on board *Le Sanspareil*, 84, which was soon after taken on the 1st of June.

On the 27th and 28th, we saw the English fleet to leeward, and on the 29th, some squadrons of our fleet came into action in the evening, but no ships were lost or taken. On the 30th and 31st, there was so thick a fog, that we could scarcely see the ship in the line a-head of us; but, on Sunday, the 1st day of June, very early in the morning, I was sitting on the Frenchman's bowsprit, in the fore stay-sail, when I heard them sing out from the mast-head, that the English were in sight, and I soon had the happiness of seeing their bright yellow sides. The Frenchmen piped to breakfast, but I can assure you, that there was scarcely an English prisoner on board that could eat for joy. The Frenchmen boasting, I got myself some good hard thumps for telling



some of them they would change their tune before sunset. As soon as they came nearly within shot, the prisoners were ordered into the main-hold, where we lost sight of what we so much wished to see. The ship we were in was dismasted, and reduced to a perfect wreck; but, unluckily for us, not taken. The French captain, seeing his decks covered with dead and wounded, ordered the prisoners double allowance of wine, and to lend a hand to rig a jury foremast, and, in a few days, we reached Brest;—a pretty sight, for the Frenchmen to see their lame ducks come in in a line!

We were soon landed and marched to Pontaneze, where we remained two or three months, very cruelly used: we were afterwards marched several days' march through the country to Quimper. The only town I can possibly recollect the name of, which we stopped at on our march, is Landerneau, where I and four more ran away from the guard, and, four days after, were taken very near the sea-coast. We were taken to Quimper, where we were ordered into the town-gaol, and I, being a boy, had only twelve-pound irons put upon my legs; but the other four had sixteens.

We were kept in this gaol six weeks, and afterwards put into the main prison of war, where



there were then three thousand three hundred prisoners, English, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, &c.; but, before three months, one thousand five hundred died with sickness and hunger. I myself was very near my last, had I not had the good fortune to find a friend, an American, of the name of Bodington, who continually advanced money to the English officers who could give sufficient security. Mr. Taylor, doctor of the Alert, who was the only officer of our ship in that prison, seeing me in the miserable condition I was, took me to Mr. Bodington's, where he indorsed a bill for five pounds upon my father. This little help saved my life, and I was soon perfectly well; but, not being contented to remain a prisoner, I and seven men made another attempt to escape, got over the prison walls by night, without being seen by the sentries, and took our course for the sea; but, five days after, we were taken and unmercifully used. We were then marched to the main road, to join the prisoners who were going from L'Orient and St. Maloes into the interior; but, before we reached them, we came to the city of Vannes, where we were put into the town-gaol, and very well used by the keeper and his family. After being there some time, the gaol-keeper's daughter, a very young girl, became so fond of me, that she got me liberty from her father to go



about as I liked, but the men were closely confined ; indeed, the father, mother, and the whole family, grew so fond of me, that they did not wish me to be parted from them. One day, an order came to have the prisoners ready to march on the morning following ; on hearing this, the whole family told me to pretend to be sick, when, they said, they would help to get me into the hospital. Accordingly the goal-keeper went to fetch a doctor from the Dispensary, telling the directors that a young English prisoner was dying with the fever. The girl, who was so fond of me, fearful that the doctor would find me out, persuaded her mother to do something to me to make me appear sick, and accordingly she boiled some tobacco and gave it to me to drink, which made me vomit and left me so sick and faint, that I could scarcely stand. In the middle of my feigned sickness the doctor came in, and, as soon as he had felt my pulse, ordered me immediately to the hospital : where they first gave me an emetic. The prisoners were marched away in the morning, and I being left behind, the doctor ordered me into the fever-ward, or the *salle de fièvre*, where I had only *bouillie* allowed me for two days, which made me curse the gaol-keeper's daughter, but, in a few days, I was ordered *demi* or half-allowance. I soon reported myself well, and the goal-keeper came to demand



me; but the head director, observing that there were no other prisoners of war in any of the prisons of the town, ordered me to remain with the steward of the hospital; and, in a short time, both the director and the steward, seeing the many services that I did them, became so fond of me that they gave me the office of *capitaine des infirmeries*, and accordingly the wine, bread, and meat, were all served out by me, and also weighed in my sight, and, in the steward's absence, I wrote the *bons* to the baker, butcher, &c., and a *bon*, written by me and signed with my name, was as valid as if the director or steward had written it himself.

The director often took me out riding with him, and gave me pocket-money, and indeed looked upon me as his own son; however, all this did not satisfy me: I rather wished to ride on board of one of my own country ships than the director's pony, and accordingly, hearing that the English fleet was in Quiberon bay, I agreed with some emigrants, or aristocrats, as they were called, to run away. These were five in number, none being much older or younger than myself, but very much more learned, and the sons of great families. We got over the hospital walls in the night, and directed our course towards the sea, with an intention to get among the loyalists in Quiberon; but, to our great misfortune, as we approached in the



evening very near to that place, which the English had put the loyalists in possession of, a very heavy firing began, which made us endeavour to hide ourselves, and we lay down among some sea-weed, that was on the beach at low water. We soon after heard the cry of "*Vive la Republique!*" which struck the young emigrants with so much terror, that they could scarcely tell what route to take. However, we set out along-shore as fast as we possibly could, until morning, when we met with some Bretons, who informed us that the loyalists were all taken by the republican general. Those Bretons were also afraid of being caught, as they had been employed in taking provisions to the loyalists. We were soon captured by some peasants, who had turned republicans, and were taken to Vannes and put into *la prison criminelle*, and the next day a sergeant and ten private soldiers came and marched us out of the prison; as we went through the town, I heard several of the people say "What has the little Englishman done? He is a prisoner of war, and not an aristocrat;" on hearing which, I said to my companions, "What are they going to do with us?" One of them replied, "*You* are safe enough, but this is *our* last day;" and one of them was crying bitterly. I wondered greatly what was to be done with us, until we were marching *sur le Gazon*, a



hill outside of the town, where I saw the republican flag, and knew directly what was to be done. I immediately asked the sergeant of the guard if he was not mistaken, and did not know that I was a prisoner of war. He only laughed and gave me no answer whatever, and I began to be very much afraid, until we were halted before the French town-major and his guard. The five young emigrants, my companions, had their hands tied behind them, and a corporal took me by the hand, and led me to the town-major, who ordered me to the prison; but the director of the hospital, who was sitting with him, said, "Let him see his aristocrat companions shot first." There were several officers, who endeavoured to beg pardon for them, considering that they were very young, but to no purpose; they were immediately shot dead by the ten soldiers, who brought us from the prison. The director told the major not to send me into the prison, and said he would take care of me himself. The major laughed at me, and told me, if I ran away again with the emigrant prisoners I should be shot with them. I promised I would not, and the director ordered me to my former duty. The next day, I went to see the French emigrants, who were taken prisoners at Quiberon, march into the town; among them I saw several Englishwomen, who had come with the



Frenchmen from Southampton; these emigrant prisoners amounted to about seven hundred. They were all shot by divisions, sometimes fifty and sometimes less; they were not buried, but thrown into the river, about three miles below the town, where they were shot on the beach. The inhabitants of Vannes would not, at that time, buy any fish that were brought to the market, saying they were fed on the flesh of the aristocrats.

I learned from the Englishwomen, who had taken republican husbands in the town, that there were boats employed by the English to keep close to the beach near Quiberon, in the bay, by night; these boats were manned by, and belonged to, Breton loyalists, who took any loyalists who had made their escape from the republicans to the English squadron. I told a young emigrant, who was in the hospital, what I had learned from my countrywomen, taken prisoners with the loyalists who came from England to Quiberon; and he asked me, if what had passed had not made me frightened enough to drop all thoughts of running away; at which I only laughed, and told him, I would get among my own countrymen or lose my life. He, perfectly well knowing that I could get him safe through the Infirmary ward by night, desired me to be very particular in inquiring of the women, so that no mistake could be made.



I learned for truth that the signal the loyalists made to the boats was by a flint and steel, and, when on the beach, at the water's edge, to strike fire every now and then, but to be very particular that the fire might not be seen on either side, along the shore, as the sentries were placed very near each other. After providing ourselves with a flint and steel, I passed the young emigrant through the wards and over the walls, and we set out with all speed, going all the night, which was very dark, until daylight, when we went into an old runnery to hide ourselves during the day, being about two miles from the beach ; as soon as it was dark, we set out for the part of the beach, which we had seen best from the top of the nunnery. As we saw no boat, in the day-time, near the shore, nor any one stirring about the beach but the sentries, we began to be doubtful of the truth of our information ; we went, however, up to our knees in the water, and managed to strike the light so that the sentries could not see it, and, in less than ten minutes, a boat came near enough to take us in without swimming. As soon as we were in the boat, the young emigrant told the Bretons who he was, and desired them to take him to the French loyalist general, Count d'Artois, on board the English transport ; but the master of the boat told him that he expected some one else



whom he had purposely come to look out for ; so we shoved off from the shore to a short distance, where we lay nearly an hour, when we saw a light struck very near the spot at which we were taken in. They skulled the boat in close to the water's edge, being afraid to pull, as the sentries might hear them. They took in a priest and some other loyalist, and shoved off, and pulled us on board of a *chasse-marée*.

The next day, I was sent on board *La Pomone*, Commodore Sir John Warren, and, after telling all the particulars to the captain, he ordered me into a mess. A few days after, the young emigrant came on board of the commodore with some French gentlemen, and, seeing me stand on the gangway, he called me to him and privately gave me ten English guineas, and told me to write my direction in English, where I was born, my father's name, &c., saying, "If God is good, I will some day do good for you."

I had not been long on board *La Pomone*, before I was sent on board a man of war brig, a prize which we took on the coast. We were sent to Portsmouth, where I saw an officer who was in Quimper prison. He was taken in the *Castor* frigate, and then belonged to the *Bellerophon*, 74, in dock, being the third lieutenant. As he knew me perfectly well, I applied to him to



get me my wages for the *Alert*, which he readily did, and he afterwards took me on board of the hulk to the first lieutenant. I was put on the *Bellerophon*'s books, and ordered to do my duty in the main-top. I had before this time written to my father, who came as usual with all speed.

As it is too painful to me to give you any more particulars of my poor father's affection to me, I will make my letter as short as I can. I was not on board the *Bellerophon* more than six months, during which time we only went two cruizes, when I deserted at Portsmouth, and worked my passage to South Shields, in a small brig, which had delivered her cargo of coals at Portsmouth. I again worked my passage in another brig from Shields to London, and, as soon as we were as far up the river as Gravesend, I sent a letter to my sister, who still lived in the Minories. She soon informed my father, and he again came to Wapping Old Stairs, in a hackney-coach, and took me to a friend of his in the City. I remained in London about three weeks. My poor old father, seeing me still wild, was advised to send me as far from home as possible; and, accordingly, he bought me a large chest of clothing and every necessary a seaman could want, and, being acquainted with some gentlemen in the India House, he got me on board the *Thames East Indiaman*,



Capt. Williams, bound to China. On our passage to China I was taken very ill with the yellow jaundice, at St. Helena, but I soon got well. In our passage, we went through the Straits of Sunda, where we took a Malay prow belonging to the Dutch, from Batavia, laden with arrack.

We put into Amboyna, where, going frequently on shore with the captain, as I belonged to his boat, or barge, I took a fancy to see in what manner these Malays lived in the country, or inland parts of the island, and, if possible, to live some time among them. Accordingly I, with two more, agreed to swim from the ship by night, to the opposite side from the garrison, which we did; but, the great distance rendered us so weak that we could scarcely stand when we touched the bottom with our feet. We immediately set out from the beach inland, and at daylight arrived among some Malays, men and women, who were employed in packing up fruit to go to the town of Amboyna. We agreed to stop with these people for some time, and gave to the head man amongst them some money to go to the town to buy provisions and arrack. On his return we all sat down together, about thirty men and women, all nearly naked, and made a hearty feast; after we had eaten our fill of rice and dried fish, we began to drink the arrack, which soon took effect on the



Malays, and they began cutting extravagant capers, as if they were mad, and soon brought five or six Dutch swords, swearing they would kill us, as, they said, we had only come to intrigue with their women. We, each having a large stick, that we had cut on our road, began to defend ourselves. I got a cut on the thigh from one of them, but the old or head man among them, seeing that we were overpowered, agreed to take us to the town and deliver us up to the governor; which they did, and we were conveyed down the jetty with a guard of Sepoys, and sent on board our ship. We were immediately put into irons by Mr. Hall, the chief mate, and kept so until the ship sailed. As soon as the ship was under weigh, the hands were turned up to punishment: accordingly, we were brought on the quarter-deck, and the captain said, "Mr. Clark," (when I deserted from the *Bellerophon* I changed my name to my mother's) "you are the leader, your father told me of your wild tricks—I forgive those two, and will touch you up and make you tame if your father could not." Accordingly I was tied up and received two dozen lashes; and my grog was stopped for one month.

When we were at China, I went several times from Wampo to Canton in the barge with the captain, and afterwards upon leave, to receive two



months' pay at the factory, during which time I found some Armenians, who came into a Chinaman's shop, while I was buying a sea stock of sugar. I asked those merchants where they came from; and they told me that the caravan they belonged to went from China to Russia, and I begged of them to take me with them, which they said they could not do. I then told them I would desert from the factory by night, and would go with them as a servant, if they would take me; but they positively denied that they dared take me with them. The Chinaman, hearing all this, went to the captain, and told him I wanted to desert; so I was again made prisoner and punished as before, on board our ship, by the chief mate, who, having a great regard for me, spliced another dozen, which made three: he had also been persuaded by my father to tame me, if possible.

On our homeward bound passage, we put into the Cape of Good Hope, where I left the Thames and delivered myself up as a deserter, and went on board his Majesty's ship, the Sceptre, 64. Captain Williams, of the Thames, begged of the captain to return me, which he would have done, if I had not refused to go back, saying that I was a deserter from a king's ship. The captain said, "If you deliver yourself up as a deserter, I cannot send you back;" so I was put on the Scep-



tre's books, and ordered to do my duty on the forecastle. In a short time, I was ordered into the captain's barge, as strokesman, and, when the coxswain was sick or on other duty, I often took his birth, and got greatly in favour with the captain, then Valentine Edwards. He very often told me, when steering him on board, by night, in strong south-easters, in Table Bay, that, if I chose, he would make me a midshipman, and that his son should teach me navigation, but I always refused, saying, I was not fit for the office.

We were ordered, by the admiral, to take part of the 84th regiment, with General Baird, to Madras; we first landed the troops at that place, and then took them on board again for Bombay, where our ship was put in dock, and the ship's company sent to Butcher's Island. During the time we were on the island, I heard a great many stories about the queen of Mahratta\*, and a report was industriously spread among the ship's company, that all Englishmen who deserted and went into her service were made officers, generals, colonels, captains, &c. &c. One evening, while we were sitting in the barracks, we were nine or ten in number, drinking our day's allowance of grog, one of my messmates said, "We have been

\* This is probably a mistake for the head of the Mahratta government.



long enough foremast-men ; it is almost time we should be officers, and if you have a mind to swear to be true to each other, we will be officers or lose our lives." Accordingly, seven of us in number took our oaths to run away with the country boat, that brought our provision from Bombay to the island, and the next day we kept a good look-out, to see off what part of the beach they would anchor the boat for the night. At dark, we all swam to her, and, in cutting away her cable, wakened two Lascars who were sleeping in her ; they soon gave the alarm, and our second lieutenant came with all speed, with a guard of marines, and fired three or four volleys at us, but to no effect : we were certain indeed that not one marine belonging to the ship would aim at us. As soon as we got about a mile from the island and close to the Isle of Elephanta, we hove the two Lascars overboard, so that they might swim on shore, for, if they had remained with us, they would have returned after we were landed, and given intelligence of what course we had taken.

From the time we landed we were three days before we reached Poonah : on our approaching that capital we fell in with an English soldier, who was himself a deserter from the Honourable Company's Madras Artillery ; he had for some time been in the service of Holkar, and asked our



intentions, which we soon told him, when, like a repenting sinner, he began a mournful story. He told us that he had been for some days very ill with the flux, had no hopes of getting better, and was going to deliver himself up to the English Resident, then Colonel Palmer. He gave us some friendly advice, and we then set out for Scindia's camp, with all speed, before we should be reported to the Resident: but, previously to our being introduced to the chief, or head general, I had seen enough of the miserable situation of the European officers, and persuaded the rest of my messmates to leave the camp, and, if possible, to shape our course for Goa, and get on board a Portuguese ship. We hesitated for some time before we agreed, considering that the distance was too great, without provisions, but at last we were determined, if possible, to weather it out, and we started: but, before we were more than three miles from the camp, the Resident's guard overtook us, and we were made prisoners and taken to the Resident's son, Captain Palmer, who ordered us into the guard-house. During this imprisonment, the Resident and his son behaved more like fathers to their children than officers to deserters; they filled our bellies with good victuals, and afterwards sent a letter of recommendation to our captain, begging him to forgive us. When we



were sent to Bombay, Captain Palmer came to see us start, with a strong guard of Sepoys, and, observing that our feet were cut and much hurt by thorns and stones, he gave every one of us a pair of shoes, but, most of us being so sorefooted, we carried the shoes in our hands. After the second day's march we fell in with an English officer, and some Sepoys, with English muskets, belonging to Scindia; he told the Soubadar of our guard, that he had been to Panwell upon duty for Scindia: however, our guard greatly mistrusted him and took us to lodge as far as possible from him; but, in the evening, he sent a boy in disguise to us, and he, talking very good English, delivered his message very plainly. He said that Colonel White told him to tell us to run away in the night and come to him, and then we should be safe enough, for, if we went to Bombay, we should be sure to be hung by sentence of a court-martial. He said he had formerly deserted from the Suffolk, 74; and two or three of my mess-mates would have agreed, had not I and another sworn that we would rather be hung by our own countrymen than remain slaves among those black rascals.

We were therefore taken to Bombay, and put into the town-prison, our ship being then fitted out, and ready for sea. The captain came to see



us in the prison, and said to me, "Mr. Clark, I had a better opinion of you," and he went on board and sent a guard of marines to fetch us. As soon as we were on board, three of our party, being old offenders, were put in irons, and ordered to prepare themselves for a court-martial; we four were brought to the gangway, and punished with two dozen each, and were ordered to our duty as formerly. Our captain and officers were very good, and never kept this offence in their hearts; only sometimes, when I was to be at the wheel, they would laugh and say, "Mr. Clark, you wanted to be a general all at once."

When we arrived at Madras, our three companions were tried by a court-martial, on board the Suffolk, Admiral Rainier, and one, being an old offender, was sentenced to five hundred lashes from ship to ship, the other two, to one hundred and fifty each. The day they were punished, we were also ordered into the launch, to be towed round the squadron with them; we would have readily agreed to take each thirty or forty lashes in their stead, but we dared not say so.

We afterwards sailed for the Cape, with a convoy, and on our passage we burned a French privateer brig, in the island of Rodrigues, near the isle of France. Soon after our arrival, the admiral, Neilson, being dead, we became commo-



dore, ours being the oldest captain. On the 5th of November, I believe—though I do not exactly recollect that it was in the year 1798, but if you inquire of my brother Joseph for the exact dates, he will find them in my letters to my father—a very heavy north-west gale of wind came on, and such a heavy sea set into the bay, that the whole of the ships struck their topmasts and lower yards. We were at the same time refitting; however, to make short, we, soon after firing the salute for the 5th of November, began to part from our anchors, one after another, and then from our guns, which we lashed with the kedganchors, and were driven on the beach. We were not on shore long before a heavy sea hove our ship broadside on into the heavy surf, and she soon began to go to pieces. After I had parted from the wreck, I was immediately struck senseless by a spar, and all appeared like a dream to me, until I found myself in the hands of people rubbing my body before a large fire; we were between forty and fifty, who were saved out of the whole number of our crew, of four hundred, besides a number of invalids from India. Our poor captain, who behaved more like a father to the ship's company than otherwise, said, when we asked him, as he sat on the quarter-gallery while the ship lay on her beams, if we should try to save



him in the boat, then not cut away from the booms, "My dear fellows, we are now all captains alike, and every one must do the best for himself." These were the last words I ever heard him utter. Both he and his son, and every officer on board, were lost. Our first lieutenant, Mr. Pengelley, was on shore on leave. In the morning, after being taken from the beach, not quite sensible, I was surprised when I found myself with several others in a Dutchman's oven. One of our party had died; we, who were saved, were sent to the hospital. The second day after, I went to see if I could find out any of my messmates, that I might bury them separately, but every one was so much disfigured and bruised that I could not tell one from another: so they were buried like the rest, forty and fifty in one hole or grave, on the beach: but very few of them were brought to the burying-ground.

We remained in the hospital until the Lancaster, 64, Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, arrived; when we were immediately sent on board her. I was again sent on shore, with Lieutenant Walker, who was afterwards drowned in Saldanha Bay, with a party of the Lancaster's crew, to get up the Sceptre's guns, &c. that lay in shallow water; we were on shore about six weeks, and got up several of the guns and carriages, after which we went



to cruize off the Isle of France. While we lay off Port Louis, an Amboyna ship came round Cannonnier Point, and got into the harbour in spite of us, although we fired several broadsides at her, and followed her so close in that the shells fell on all sides of us. This enraged our captain so much that he determined, if he lost every boat in the ship, to cut her out in the night.

Accordingly, Mr. Gray, the first lieutenant of the *Adamant*, 50, and our first lieutenant, Mr. Macfarlane, and several other officers of both ships, commanded the boats, and we shoved off all together in a line, just as it was getting dark, and before we came within musket-shot it was so dark that we could scarcely see the boat astern of us. The governor, being doubtful of our intention, had sent a great many people on board the ship to get her close in, and also some soldiers to guard her : as soon as they heard the noise of our oars in the water, they began to fire like thunder at us, but, I believe, only two were wounded while in our boats. Our first lieutenant had his right arm broken, when boarding, with the blow of a hand-spike. We soon drove them in great confusion, some overboard and some below, but we had several wounded, and, as soon as the batteries were opened upon us, we got her head towards the harbour's mouth and put all sail on her, but, it being almost



a calm, we were obliged to tow her during the whole time, while the shot from the two batteries, one on each side, were flying over us, though very little hurt was done. We had but two men killed outright, but several wounded: I was myself wounded in the loins by a splinter. We took our prize to the Cape, with several other prizes, and I was sent to the hospital, where I remained for five months before I recovered.

During this time, our ship went to cruize off the river La Plata. When she returned, I was sent on board of the *Adamant*, to go round to join her in False Bay. We soon after had the happy news of peace, and we all had hopes of once more being free in our own country. Some Dutch frigates arrived with a convoy of transports and troops for Batavia, and soon after, a Dutch squadron, with an admiral on board a 64, called the *Pluto*, came to relieve us. When the Dutch troops were landed, and the English troops embarked, a packet came about two hours before the keys of the castle were to be given up, with an order not to deliver up the Cape to the Dutch, there being still some dispute to be arranged. Soon after our packet, a Dutch packet came, so we moored in a line alongside of the Dutch men of war, with our guns kept double-shotted. The day after the Dutch packet arrived, there was an order for fifty English sea-



men to land from every ship, to protect the garrison, and marines to man Amsterdam Battery, the English transports having all sailed for India with the English troops. The seamen who were to be landed from our ship were chosen, and caps were made of canvas, and blackened and shined, with the ship's name in the front, in white letters. I was ordered to act as serjeant-major over all the small-armed party of seamen in the garrison; and the lieutenant, who was acting as our captain, gave me the privilege of seeing the provisions and wine served out, and all who went into the town, in their turns, upon leave, received a written pass from me. Shortly after a packet arrived, with an order to give up the Cape to the Dutch, and we were sent on board with our hearts full of joy, thinking we should once more sail for Old England, and be paid off; but how much were we surprised, when we saw the admiral's flag hoisted on board the *Diomedé*, 50, and our captain and several others of the admiral's favourite officers go on board the *Diomedé*, and Captain Fothergill come and take the command of us. However, we did not know the secret until we all got under weigh together. After we had passed Penguin Island, the admiral and his squadron kept on before the wind; the *Tremendous*, 74, hauled upon the wind to the southward, and we followed her example, the



admiral still keeping his course, as well as the rest of the ships with him. Our ship's crew looked one at the other, as if they had lost their senses, saying, "Where are we going to now it's peace?" However, this caused a great murmur in the ship's company, though nothing serious happened. When we arrived at Madras, we were told the whole; and the ship's crew soon began to be pacified and as happy as ever. After we had been some time at Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, and along the coast, a French squadron, under admiral Linois, arrived while we were in sight of Pondicherry. The admiral got under weigh with the squadron to meet them, and saluted. Both squadrons anchored in the roads, while we were left as guardship higher up on the coast. One night, a schooner-rigged vessel passed us; we hailed her, and she told us that she came from old France. We boarded in the guardboat, with the second lieutenant, Mr. Gilchrist; and I was ordered to go on board as interpreter; we went with her, until we brought-to alongside of our admiral. During the time we were on board of her, I learned from one of the foremast-men that war had again broken out, and that they had a packet on board for the French admiral Linois. I told Mr. Gilchrist of this, but he said we could do nothing without orders from England. The very same



night, or the night after, the whole French squadron slipped their cables, and got clear out without ever being missed until daylight. We got under weigh in search of them, and cruised in all parts where we were likely to find them. This cruise was a very unfortunate one; a great number of our ship's company died with the scurvy, and scarcely hands enough remained to work her. The admiral gave up the cruise, and we sailed for Bombay. I myself was so bad in the loins, from my old wounds, that I could scarcely get up the hatchway-ladders. When we arrived in Bombay, the doctor ordered me to the hospital, with several of the ship's crew, and, after I had been there some time, an inspection was made of the sick and wounded in the hospital, and I was invalided.

Shortly after, I began to get a great deal better, and, my wild tricks still haunting me, I tried to pass the sentry at the hospital gate without leave; the black Sepoy never said, "Where are you going?" or any thing else, but gave me a hard blow with the butt-end of his musket, which I soon took from him, and, in the scuffle, broke his bayonet, and gave him a thump on the temple, so that he fell to the ground. The sergeant and the guard came running to his assistance, and I fought my way through them, until I got into the ward of the



invalids, where, the next day, a search was made for me, and the Sepoy sergeant told the head doctor that he could find me out by a cut on the thumb and shoulder that he had given me. As soon as he had found me out, a sentry was ordered to watch me in the ward, until some officers belonging to the men of war should come. By this time the Lancaster, which had been in dock, had sailed, very happily for me, in the night. I pretended to have occasion to step out, which I did, and, while the sentry stood at the door, I got out of the window; the sentry at the gate was asleep, and I got through the small door without his hearing me. Being told that the sentry I had struck with the butt of his own musket was likely to die, I was very much alarmed, and made the affair known to Mr. Hall, an officer of the Honourable Company's marine, who took me on board the Antelope, and, for fear I should be known to any one by my name, I changed it to François Dilvaro, and we sailed to Mangalore, to take on board Lord Viscount Valentia, with whom we sailed for the Red Sea.

Dear sir, you know as well as I do every particular after that time. What I have written is all I can possibly recollect, but every word of it is real truth, and it may, perhaps, be the means of your not soon forgetting me. I hope you will



always consider me as your servant, though brought down to the very extremity through disease, in a foreign land, where charity, at the present time, is not known; for, believe me, I shall always consider you as my master and only friend in this world, and, if I never again may see you, I shall die in the hope that God will comfort our souls in the world to come. I can assure you, that when I go near the spot of ground where you last left me, not quite a mile from this, I often say in my heart, and sometimes to those that are with me, "This is the spot where I unwillingly took my last farewell of my poor friend, Mr. Salt," and a heavy shower of tears then runs from my eyes, as it does at this moment. I can assure you it was my wish to have gone a greater distance with you, if I had not been persuaded otherwise. It is not pleasant for me to trouble you with any more at present; so I conclude, remaining, until death,

Your very affectionate and humble servant,

NATHANIEL PEARCE.

P.S. If you find any blunders in my writing, you must lay the fault to my eyes, which are so very weak that I can scarcely see to read what I have written, except it be early in the morning,

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For the remainder of the eventful life of this singular and adventurous man the Editor is indebted to the kind information afforded him by Mr. Coffin, who accompanied Pearce on his first voyage to Mocha; to Pearce's own narrative, given in Mr. Salt's last Travels in Abyssinia; and finally, to parts of the correspondence between that gentleman and Pearce.

On the arrival of Pearce, in the *Antelope*, at Mangalore, Lord Valentia and his suite were taken on board, and the ship immediately proceeded on her voyage to Mocha. On reaching that place, she remained a few days, to take in water, &c., and then pursued her course, on a survey of the coast of Africa, up the Red Sea, to Massowa, and so on to Suakin, where, an unfortunate misunderstanding taking place between lord Valentia and Captain Keys, the commander of the *Antelope*, the whole party returned to Mocha; whence, after residing in the factory a few days, Captain Keys took his departure for Bombay; but Pearce, knowing the perilous situation he should be placed in on his arrival at that settlement, deserted from the ship, swam on shore in the night, surrendered himself to the Dola, and turned Mahometan.

On the departure of the *Antelope*, Lord Valentia accepted the kind offer of Captain Vashon, of



the Fox frigate, to give his lordship a passage to Bombay ; but, previously to the sailing of that ship, his lordship, Captain Vashon, his officers, and the English consul at Mocha, used the most strenuous endeavours to prevail on Pearce to return, unfortunately, at that time, without success ; when his lordship went on board the Fox frigate, and proceeded on his voyage to Bombay, where, after a full investigation of Captain Keys's conduct, the Company's cruizer, the Panther, Captain Court, was ordered to proceed with his lordship again to the Red Sea, to complete the objects of his former voyage.

A few days after the arrival of the Panther at Mocha, Pearce, who had meanwhile become heartily sick of his new religion and his residence in Arabia, was met in the streets of Mocha by Mr. Coffin, who asked him what he thought of his present situation ; to which he replied, he was heartily tired of it, and would give worlds to get away, begging Mr. Coffin to use all means in his power to get him removed from his forlorn and miserable condition. Mr. Coffin agreed, and, immediately on his return, communicated the poor fellow's despair and repentance to Lord Valentia and Captain Court ; who, sincerely compassionating his situation, lost no time in taking such measures as they judged most likely to



ensure his escape. Accordingly, the night before the Panther sailed on her destination to Massowa, after a previous communication with Pearce, a boat was sent, to be in waiting on a retired part of the coast, as had been before arranged, to take him and several other English renegadoes on board. After the boat had waited some time, Pearce and another came to the appointed place, and were immediately taken to the ship, the hearts of the others having failed them. The next day, the Panther sailed to Massowa, where it was finally determined that the expedition to Abyssinia, which had been for some time in agitation, should be undertaken by Mr. Salt and Captain Rudland, accompanied by Pearce and some others.

The proceedings of the party, during its stay in the country, being already before the public, it is only necessary to observe, that, under all the circumstances of his case, it was judged most advisable that Pearce should remain behind in the country, not only as it accorded with his own wishes, but in many respects seemed likely to forward the views with which the expedition was originally undertaken. After leaving with him such necessaries and comforts as might be of service to him in the sequel, and strongly recommending him to the kindness and attention



of the Ras of Tigré, the party took their leave of him and returned to Massowa.

For some time subsequently to the departure of Mr. Salt from the country, the Ras, in his treatment of Pearce, appears to have religiously adhered to his promise of affording him his friendship and protection; he was placed in the service of Ozoro Setches, a lady of the highest rank, and the legitimate wife of the Ras, with whom he remained as a kind of confidential friend for about half a year, in the full enjoyment of her favour and countenance. Unfortunately, however, the high estimation in which he was held both by that lady and the Ras excited the jealousy of some of the most influential chiefs at the court; who, gradually instilling their own unjust prejudices into the mind of the Ras, induced him to treat Pearce with indifference and neglect, and to deprive him of many of the privileges which had previously been granted to him. The natural turbulence of Pearce's spirit was ill calculated to support, with the requisite patience, this change in his situation and circumstances, and led him to remonstrate on the occasion, with a degree of violence that lost him, for a time, the favour of the Ras, and reduced him to a state of absolute dependence upon some of the young chieftains of the court.



During this temporary disgrace, he judiciously employed his time in acquiring a knowledge of the Tigré language, which, he wisely judged, could alone enable him to get the better of his enemies, whenever a fair field should open to him for the display of his zeal and ability. An occasion of this nature shortly occurred, in March 1807, when a powerful league was formed, by many of the most formidable chiefs in the interest of the descendants of Ras Michael, for the destruction of Ras Welled Selassé ; who, raising a powerful army to oppose the insurgents, quickly reduced them to unconditional submission : but, before the affair was finally concluded, an opportunity was afforded to Mr. Pearce of displaying his courage and fidelity. While the negotiations for peace were going on, a plot had been formed by some of the hostile chiefs to burn the Ras at his quarters in Adowa, where he lay, in the full confidence of victory, at some distance from his army and very slenderly attended. The scheme had nearly succeeded, and part of the premises were already in flames, when Mr. Pearce, who was encamped with the army outside of the town, being awakened by the glare of light, seized his musket, and, hastening to the spot, rushed undauntedly through the flames, to the assistance of the old man ; when the fire was shortly after



extinguished, and the chiefs implicated in the plot were taken, in a great degree through the instrumentality of Pearce, and punished. The courage and promptitude he evinced on this occasion restored him to the favour of the Ras, who gave him a white mule, encreased his allowances, and appointed him to the honour of attending Ozoro Turinga, a sister of the Ras, with an escort, back to Antàlo.

This favourable state of affairs, however, was not of long duration: the jealousy of his enemies and his own impetuous temper quickly brought on an absolute rupture between him and the Ras; and he threatened to go over to his great enemy, Gojee, which so incensed the old man, that he told him, though he would prevent his putting that plan in execution, yet he might go any where else he thought proper, provided he never appeared in his presence again. In consequence of this dispute, Pearce left Antàlo, and for some time led a kind of wandering life in different districts of Abyssinia and some of the bordering countries, where he was generally received with kindness and hospitality, till he determined, at length, to shape his course to Samen, and visit Ras Guebra, the powerful governor of that province. During the journey he passed over the summit of the lofty mountain Amba Hai, which



he found tremendously difficult in the ascent, and, after descending gradually on the other side for about five hours, arrived at Inchetkaub, the capital of Ras Guebra, by whom he was hospitably received, and kindly advised to return to Antàlo, and make up matters with the Ras, though for that time without success. Shortly after his arrival at Inchetkaub, he was attacked by an inflammation in his eyes, greatly resembling ophthalmia, which nearly confined him to his bed, and was probably occasioned by the glare of the snow, to which he had been exposed in passing over the high mountains of Samen. While lying in this miserable state, he was visited, in the absence of his servants, by a woman with whom he had formerly been well acquainted. She brought a young man with her whom she called her brother, and both expressed so much joy at seeing Pearce, and appeared so sincerely to commiserate his situation, that he was quite overcome by the interest they took in his welfare. The conclusion, however, of the affair, was not quite so agreeable, as he discovered, soon after their departure, upon the return of his servants, that they had plundered him of every thing he possessed, except his musket, which lay under his pillow, and the garments which he wore. The woman, being taken a day or two afterwards, confessed the robbery,



and several articles were recovered ; but the greater part, together with his Journal, had been carried off by her companion, who effected his escape.

The loss he had thus sustained, joined to the weak state of his health, made Pearce give up the idea of advancing farther into the country ; and, hearing about this time, from some of his Tigré friends, that the Galla, under Gojee, had advanced to attack the Ras Welled Selassé, as far even as Antàlo, he determined to forget all past misunderstandings and hasten to the assistance of his former master. In this generous, and, as it afterwards turned out for him, fortunate, resolution, he was supported by Ras Guebra ; who, on parting with him, in December 1807, made him some handsome presents, and sent with him one of his confidential messengers, to speak in his favour to Ras Welled Selassé. After taking his leave, Mr. Pearce proceeded rapidly on his journey, till he reached the banks of the Tacazzé ; where, owing to the swollen state of the river, some delay occurred in crossing it ; but the passage was at length accomplished with great difficulty, and the party, on the 29th of December, reached the neighbourhood of Antàlo. As Pearce and his companions advanced, they found the country in great alarm at the near approach of Gojee, who



had gained possession of a large portion of Lasta, and was within a day's march of Enderta. This intelligence caused Pearce to hasten his progress, and he reached the gateway of the Ras early on the morning of the 30th.

On his arrival, many of the chiefs expressed their astonishment at seeing him, and strongly urged him not to venture into the presence of the Ras; but Pearce felt too proudly conscious of the motives that prompted him to return to feel any apprehension, and requested an audience of the Ras, to which he was immediately admitted. As he approached the old man, he thought he saw, as he expresses it, "something pleasant in his countenance," as he turned to one of his chiefs, and said, pointing to Pearce, "Look at that man! he came to me a stranger, about five years ago, and, not being satisfied with my treatment, left me in great anger; but now that I am deserted by some of my friends, and pressed upon by my enemies, he is come back to fight by my side." He then, with tears in his eyes, desired Pearce to sit down, ordered a cloth of the best quality to be thrown over his shoulders, and gave him a mule and a handsome allowance of corn for his support.

Soon afterwards, the Ras, having assembled his army, marched against the enemy, and, after



some skirmishing and shew of negociation, Gojee shifted his ground to the plains of Maizella, which he had determined should be the place of action, and the Ras took up his station close to the Ain Tacazzé for the night. In the morning, a last attempt was made by the Ras for an accommodation, which was haughtily rejected by Gojee, and both parties prepared for a decisive engagement on the following morning. In the action that ensued, the Ras appears to have arranged his forces with considerable skill, but the impetuous charge of the Galla upon his centre, where he commanded in person, forced it to give way. The Ras, enraged at the sight, called for his favourite horse, which was held back by his chiefs, who felt anxious for his personal safety, when the old man urged his mule forward and galloped to the front ; where, by his conspicuous appearance and gallant demeanour, he quickly infused fresh energy into his troops and retrieved the fortune of the day. On this critical occasion, Pearce was among the first in advance, and the Ras, seeing him in the thick of the fight, cried out, "Stop, stop that madman!" but he called in vain. Pearce dashed on, killed a Galla chief of some consequence, and by his courage throughout the day gained the admiration of all around him. Gojee himself escaped with difficulty, and his



whole army was totally routed. In the course of the many desperate enterprises in which the Ras was engaged subsequently to this celebrated victory, Pearce, who always accompanied him, had several opportunities of distinguishing himself and of establishing a high character for intrepidity and conduct.

After this harassing campaign, the Ras returned in triumph to Antàlo, where he and some of the principal chiefs shewed Pearce the highest marks of their favour and admiration. The blessings of peace succeeded for a time the horrors of war; and about this period Pearce married a pleasing girl, the daughter of an old Greek, named Sidee Paulus: but this tranquillity was of short duration. Subegadis and his brothers refused, early in 1809, to pay their customary tribute, and otherwise forced the Ras into a difficult and predatory war among the mountains, which furnished Pearce with fresh opportunities for signalizing his activity and personal bravery.

On one of these occasions, he would have inevitably lost his life but for the generosity of one of his opponents. He had been ordered, with some of the Ras's people, to seize a number of cattle, known to be concealed in the neighbourhood, and the party succeeded in securing above



three hundred; but, owing to a stratagem of Guebra Guro's, one of the brothers of Subegadis, he lost a number of men in the enterprise. This chief and about fourteen of his best marksmen had placed themselves, in a recumbent posture, on the brow of an inaccessible rock, whence they picked off every man who ventured within musket-shot. At one time, Pearce was so near this dangerous position, that he distinctly heard Guebra Guro order his men not to fire either at him, Pearce, or at Ayto Tesfos; calling out to them, at the same time, "to keep out of the range of his matchlocks, as he was anxious no personal harm should happen to his friends." The Ras, finding he could make little or no impression upon the wary enemy he had to encounter, burnt the town of Makiddo, and returned with his army to Adowa.

On his arrival at that place, Pearce received a letter from Captain Rudland, the East India Company's agent at Mocha, dated May 17th, 1809, requesting him to go down to Buré, where he would meet him. This promise, however, it appears that gentleman was unable to perform; and, on Pearce's reaching the coast, he found himself almost alone in the midst of a barbarous and sanguinary race, and nearly without money, provisions, or protection.



In this deplorable state he remained till the 20th of July, when, from the want of food, he was forced to dismiss the Abyssinian escort that had accompanied him, and to wait patiently for the arrival of Captain Rudland, with only four servants; all of whom, with himself, would probably have perished from want, had it not been for the kindness of the master of an Arabian dow, who humanely supplied the party with some *zuwarry* and dates in exchange for a bill on Mocha. After remaining in this unpleasant situation for some time, and narrowly escaping from a plot laid against his life, he was, at length, relieved in some measure, by the arrival of a dow from Mocha, with Mr. Benzoni on board, who persuaded him, much against his will, to take charge of a cargo of goods for Abyssinia, through the barbarous tribes, of whose want of hospitality and good faith he had already had so bitter an experience. Before Mr. Benzoni took leave of Pearce, he made him some useful presents, and gave him a hundred dollars; of which, however, from the circumstance having transpired, he was completely stripped by the cupidity of the savage borderers, before he reached the frontiers of Abyssinia.

The articles placed under his charge were very near sharing the same fate, and, on one occasion



in particular, he was obliged to protect them, at the hazard of his life, by shooting one of his treacherous conductors. Luckily for Pearce, he had then entered the frontiers of Abyssinia, and the report of his blunderbuss brought the people of the district around him, when his villanous guides, with their wounded companion, fled in great alarm, and Pearce proceeded, without farther molestation, on his route to Chelicut; where the sagacity, intrepidity, and talent, he had displayed, throughout the whole of the expedition, secured him a most flattering reception.

A few months after these transactions, Mr. Salt arrived in the Red Sea, upon his second mission to Abyssinia, and it was probably fortunate for him that Pearce's journey had been completed before his arrival in those parts; as he had, at first, determined upon following the same route, in preference to his former one by Massowa, till he received letters from Pearce, strongly dissuading him from making an attempt, which sad experience had taught the latter to be fraught with almost insurmountable difficulties and dangers. The receipt of this intelligence induced Mr. Salt to alter his intention, and he, in consequence, steered his course to Massowa, where he was joined by Pearce and Ito Debbib, with a party of Abyssinians, on the 10th of February,



1810, and proceeded, without any serious accident, to the Ras's residence at Chelicut.

From circumstances related in his *Travels*, Mr. Salt's stay in Abyssinia was only of short duration, and, after remaining a few months, he bade a final adieu to the country, leaving behind him with Pearce the supercargo of the ship, Mr. Coffin, to whose voluntary zeal, promptitude, and courage, the whole expedition, on its first arrival at Amphila, had been greatly indebted. Previously to Mr. Salt's departure, he strictly enjoined Pearce to keep a regular journal of passing events, and of the adventures in which he might be engaged—a request with which, in spite of the subsequently distracted state of the country, Pearce appears generally to have complied.

The result of his industry is now, for the first time, submitted to the public; and to it the reader is referred for such particulars of the Author's life as occurred between the years 1810 and 1819, when he arrived at Cairo. On his reaching that city, after having encountered many difficulties and perils, both by sea and land, he found that Mr. Salt was absent on an excursion into Upper Egypt; and, being anxious to meet him with the least possible delay, he set off on a voyage up the Nile, in search of his friend and benefactor: the meeting between them is not



described in the Journal, which breaks off very abruptly; but it appears, from some original letters, that he was received by Mr. Salt with that warm-hearted kindness and liberality, which ever distinguished the character of that benevolent and lamented individual.

The conclusion of Pearce's history may be briefly told. On his return to Cairo, he was entrusted with the entire direction of Mr. Salt's household, when the duties of the Consulship demanded the attendance of the latter in other stations; a capacity in which he appears to have surpassed the expectations of his master, by his economy and general management of the establishment. During his short residence at Cairo in this situation, he arranged and wrote his Journal from the various documents he had brought with him, or from time to time forwarded from Abyssinia to Mr. Salt. It will be seen by extracts from letters still in existence, inserted by Mr. Salt in his Appendix, how highly he estimated the Journal as a faithful, characteristic, and animated description of the customs, manners, and laws, of the Abyssinian people, and which, it is greatly to be regretted, his ill state of health, domestic misfortunes, and the augmentation of his official duties, prevented him from personally inspecting, according to his expressed intention.



Besides the Journal, Pearce was at this time employed by the Rev. Mr. Jowett in translating portions of the New Testament in the Tigré language, for the use of the Church Missionary Society, and at one time he had, under the auspices of Mr. Salt, actually set out on a journey to Jerusalem with Mr. Jowett, which, however, from some cause that does not appear, was subsequently abandoned.

The chequered life of this remarkable individual was now fast drawing to a close. In the early part of the year 1820, Mr. Salt, having some articles of consequence, which he wished to have safely conveyed to England, and having previously been informed that the R. prefixed to Pearce's name at the Admiralty had been erased, through the kind interference of the Earl of Mountnorris, Sir Joseph Banks, and the Right Honourable Charles Yorke, thought the opportunity a favourable one for the return of the wanderer to his native land. A passage was accordingly secured for him, in a ship that was about to sail in a few days, and every accommodation provided, when he caught a violent cold, which, being greatly aggravated by the mistaken and somewhat intemperate use of brandy, quickly turned to a raging fever, with which his constitution, long debilitated by hardship and disease,



was wholly unequal to struggle, and which carried him off, at Alexandria, early in June, 1820, at the age of about 41 years. A short time previously to his dissolution, he made his will, in which he bequeathed his Journal, and the whole of his papers, to Henry Salt, Esq., one of his executors, who presented the former and many of the latter to the Earl of Mountnorris, to whose kindness and friendship the Editor is indebted for the possession of the Journal.



# JOURNAL,

ETC., ETC.

## CHAPTER I.

Ras Welled Selassé—Submission of Guebra Guro, and his brothers, Subegadis, Sardie, and Agoos, to the Ras—They again rebel—Unite with the Gusmati Ischias, Ras Michael's grandson, and other chiefs, to take the province of Tigré—Are driven by the Ras's troops across the river Tacazzé—Visit of Ras Ilo; his reception at Chelicut—Ras Welled Selassé takes the field against the Rebels—Mountain of Ambaarra, a stronghold of Subegadis—He is dislodged from it—Preparations for War with Guxo—The Gusmarsh Salada—Defeat of Guxo's army—Gojee—His barbarity—Guebra Guro again makes his submission—Forged Letter respecting Pearce and Coffin—Reports concerning a white Traveller—Displeasure of the Ras with Pearce, and reconciliation—Present to the Ras from the King of Shoa—Battle between Baharnegash Subhart and Shum Woldi—Death of Nebrid and Funeral Ceremonies—Tusfu Mariam, one of the Ras's Chiefs, surprised by Subegadis and slain—Operations of Guxo—Guebra Guro confined—Submission of the Gusmati Ischias and other rebel Chiefs—Ravages of the Small-pox—Superstitions of the Abyssinians in regard to Diseases.

At the latter end of May, 1810, Ito Subegadis, and Guebra Guro, under pretence of making it up with Ras Welled Selassé, against whom they had rebelled, sent to him their brother, whose name was Sardie, and who, throughout the rebellion, had been with the Ras, and was a great



favourite with him, to declare, that if the Ras would share the country belonging to their father, between the four sons, viz. Subegadis, Sardie, Guebra Guro, and Agoos, they would come in to him; to which he, the Ras, agreed. Accordingly, Guebra Guro arrived, on the 6th of June, at Mucculla, and came before the Ras, with a stone upon his neck, which is customary on such occasions, and the Ras forgave him. His brother, Subegadis, was left at home, under pretence of illness, but it was soon ascertained to be a mere feint, for carrying on, with the less suspicion, his farther rebellious practices; while his brother, Guebra Guro, being then with the Ras, and in apparent amity, served as a blind to the intended treachery.

This last notorious rebel twice visited the Ras, who gave him a *shummut* or district, and treated him with great attention. One day, while he was at Chelicut, there was a great feast among the priests of the Ras's church at that place, in the Ras's presence, and at his house; when, after eating and drinking till the priests began to be merry and dance in their usual fashion, some of the Ras's soldiers, being pretty merry also, from the quantity of maize they had drunk, began to exhibit before their master, in the Abyssinian fashion, and to boast of their prowess, and the



great feats they had done, and would do, in his service. Among the rest, Guebra Guro started up, with his *shuttle*, or knife, drawn, and a *bruly* or goblet of maize in his hand, saying, "Hold your tongues! by the Ras's flesh, I am Guebra Guro, I am a lion, I am a slave to the Badinsah." Having made an end of his boasting, he said, "I have been a rebel these two years against my master; but, for the time to come, if ever I behave otherwise than as a slave to the Badinsah, I am no longer a Christian, in which faith I was bred and born;" then, catching hold of his *martab*, or the blue thread round his neck, which distinguishes a Christian, he cut it in two, adding that he hoped he might be cut down, as he had cut his *martab*, if he did not behave as he had promised; at which the Ras's people were very much pleased and gave him great applause.

Next day we went to Antàlo, where the Ras gave Guebra Guro a very handsome matchlock and a horse; he also showed him the presents brought him from England by Mr. Salt. After taking leave of the Ras, Guebra returned with me and Mr. Coffin to Chelicut, and it being on his road home, he stopped at my house about three hours, ate and drank with us, and afterwards began to discourse about the Ras going to war with the Amhara. He said, that, if it so hap-



pened, he should wish to swear us beforehand to be to him as brothers ; that he would provide us with honey, flour, and sheep, for the expedition ; and that we should find powder and shot. To get rid of our troublesome friend, I told him, that, though we never swore upon such occasions in our country, yet, that if once we said the thing, we would stand to it. He then begged a little powder of me and took his leave.

This was on Thursday, and, on the Thursday in the following week, news was brought to the Ras, that Subegadis and Guebra had raised a strong army of rebels, bound their brother Sardie, and fought against the country of Derra, and taken the chief of that district, named Abba Golam Carsu, besides killing a great number of people, and burning several towns and villages. Abba Golam Carsu is accounted a very hard-fighting and brave Abyssinian, but was overpowered by Subegadis and his brothers. The Ras was very much concerned about him ; at the same time the Gusmati Ischias, Ras Michael's grandson, who never had been quiet three years together since the commencement of Ras Welled Selassé's government, from the notion that he himself was best entitled to be Ras, appeared also in rebellion, and joined Nebrid Aram, formerly governor of the province of Adowa, and a servant to the Ras,



who had previously taken up arms. These two chiefs, together with Palambarus Guebra Amlac, and Shum Temben, settled that Subegadis should meet them at Adowa, where they were to unite and take the whole of Tigré, and that Guxo was to come from Gondar, and join them to take Enderta.

Ras Welled Selassé was at first for marching to Tigré himself, had he not been prevented by his Blitingatore, Woldi Gorgis, and Palambarus Toclu, who sent him word that it was not worth his while to trouble himself about such rebels as those, since they, with the other chiefs of Tigré, who still remained friends to him, together with his troops then in Tigré, would be enough to destroy, or otherwise drive them out of the country; to which the Ras agreed, and stopped accordingly at Antàlo. Before the two parties of rebels could join, the Ras's forces had pursued the Gusmati Ischias and his associates, till they found them encamped near Axum, in the plain, called Attsowo; these, finding that the Ras's troops were too strong for them, made off, with some loss, to the other side of the Tacazzé, whither they had previously sent the cattle they had plundered in that part of Tigré.

They also met with the Walkayt Negadi *cofla*, which they plundered of a very great quan-



tity of elephants' teeth, and a thousand pieces of Walkayt cloth, cotton, &c. Being followed by the Ras's troops, they made but a short resistance, on the bank of the Tacazzé, and then fled across the river, quite out of the Ras's dominions. The Ras's troops encamped there, rioting upon their plunder, until the rebels were quite distressed for want of provisions; when they were glad to retire to Waldubba, where they remained till the Gusmarsh Guxo sent his head general, or Gusmarsh, Ackly Marro, to meet them, by whom they were kindly received at Wogara, and thence conveyed to Guxo, who was then in Gondar. He received them very honourably, and afterwards reviewed their troops, telling them not to fear, as by the month of Tesas, or December, he would give them Tigré, Enderta, and all the Ras's dominions, and then ordered them, namely, to Gusmati Ischias one hundred *churns* of corn, which is eight hundred bushels; the same to Nebrid Aram; fifty *churns* to Palambarus Guebra Amlac, and fifty to Nebrid Aram's wife, Ozoro Wolleta Michael, daughter of Ito Debbib, Ras Welled Selassé's younger brother, though as great a rebel as her husband.

During this time, Ras Ilo, of Lasta, came upon a visit to Ras Welled Selassé, at Chelicut; I and Mr. Coffin went on horseback to meet him, but



we returned at full speed, having received a message from the Ras, who desired us to proceed as fast as possible to Chelicut, and have a salute ready for Ras Ilo, on his entrance into that place. At his arrival, he was saluted with five guns, in the English fashion, by me and Mr. Coffin, with one of the three-pounders brought into the country by Mr. Salt, the other being at Mucculla. When he had approached within five hundred yards, we began, and fired five times with English cartridges, before the party could advance half way. Indeed, Ras Ilo was so struck by the unexpected explosion, that, had he not seen our old Ras ride on the quicker, I believe he would have gone back. It gave him great surprise to behold the rapidity with which we could load and fire, as his attendants could not have loaded and fired a matchlock even twice in the same space of time. The Ras, in the course of the same day, begged us to show them the English exercise, at which I professed myself a good hand; the motions I first went through, and the discharging of five or ten cartridges as quick as possible astonished Ras Ilo and his attendants. Ras Ilo had never seen a cannon in his life before, and seeing it run, with its utensils, &c., on its carriage, he was quite astonished, and said, in a low tone, "I thought there was no country like our



own for instruments of war, but I now find I was mistaken."

This chief remained some time at Chelicut; it appeared that he was alarmed by Guxo, who had threatened him as well as the rest. The Ras, on his departure, performed *shillimho*, that is, dressed him out very fine in silks, a regular custom upon such visits. He also gave him five handsome matchlocks, and four large and two small Turkish and Persian carpets, of great value in this country. After Ras Ilo had taken leave of the Ras, he gave me a mule and a good sheepskin dress, and a sheepskin to Mr. Coffin, with promises of future friendship; he left Chelicut on the 3d of July. The Ras remained there for some time afterwards, and then went to Antàlo. On hearing that Subegadis was plundering and destroying all the neighbouring countries, and that nobody could face him, he ordered all to be got ready against Kudus Yohannis, or St. John's day, which is the first day of Mascarram, or September, and the drum was beaten in the market-place, to order all Enderta, Giralta, Temben, Saharte, Overgalle, Bora, Salora, Dova, Wojjerat, Womburta, Dacer, &c., to be ready at that time, and join him at Aggulah. Tigré and Shiré were left to take care of the country, against the other rebels, who had gone to the Amhara.



I and Mr. Coffin went with the Ras and his army to Mucculla, taking our horses, arms, &c., with provisions necessary for the campaign.

When we joined the army, on the Thursday following, the Ras was very much displeased at not finding all his chiefs, as he expected ; but, on our march, the next day, he became better satisfied, on seeing his troops hourly joining him by thousands. About four thousand horse and thirty thousand foot joined him, that evening, at Arramat ; the whole of the musketry amounted to about eleven hundred, the remainder were spear and shield men.

The next day we marched to Aggulah, where we stopped until Monday ; the Abyssinians, from motives of piety, never marching on a Sunday or on any holydays with an army. From Aggulah, we advanced to Adegraat, in the country of Agamé, where Subegadis, hearing of the Ras's approach, immediately fled. When we had destroyed all the corn, and burned every town and village in that part, we marched to Asuffa, where Subegadis had been the night before, but left it as the Ras approached.

We stopped here six days, until our cattle had consumed all the green corn, and then marched to Gundegunde, at which place stands, as the natives report, one of the most ancient churches



in Abyssinia, named Redan-er-merrit. Though it is in the Taltal country, the priests defend it easily, as the ascent to it is so steep that one man could defend it against a thousand. This church it is superstitiously believed in the country was built by God ; in it a large book is preserved that is held in great veneration, and is said to have been written by order of queen Helena, or Eleanor. We here learnt that Subegadis had taken to his strong mountain-hold close by ; where he meant to give battle to the Ras, if he dared to approach, thinking it impossible that so strong a position could be stormed.

This mountain is called Ambaarra, and it is one of the highest I have seen in Abyssinia. Amba Hai and Behader may be seen from its summit ; and, from the other side, the sea, which, I suppose, may be about six or seven leagues distant. It is very difficult of ascent, and, as no mules can go up it, we stopped, and encamped at Gundegunde, until the 13th of September. Very early that morning, we began to march towards the foot of the mountain, the Ras having sent forward a storming party at midnight, unknown to most of his chiefs.

About eight o'clock, we arrived at the foot of the mountain, when, alighting from our mules, I sent them back to the camp. The road we came



upon our mules was a very steep hill. We now began to climb the height, and could plainly hear the storming party, which the Ras had sent under the command of Chellica Woldi Michael, one of his favourites, engaging the enemy; a continual fire of muskets being kept up above us. I and Mr. Coffin began to ascend long before the Ras; and came, in about an hour, to the spot, where we found Subegadis enjoying the pleasure of picking off the Ras's soldiers as he thought proper, although they were more than one hundred feet above him. It was impossible to see any of his men, the loose rocks and the entrenchments he had made being covered with the trunks of large trees, which had been cut down for that purpose; and the steep precipice, opposite to which they stood, would not permit above one or two at a time to be lowered down to attack them; in attempting which, they were shot by Subegadis's soldiers and rolled down to the foot of their entrenchments.

I and Mr. Coffin stood among the Ras's soldiers, thinking we might get a shot through the holes, whence the fire of the rebels was directed; but, finding it of no use, and that it was impossible to see any thing but solid rocks and entrenchments to fire at, and about fifteen men being already killed close to us, we sat ourselves down



in a secure place until the Ras should come up. Upon his approach, the soldiers came running and roaring like wild beasts, firing sometimes a hundred muskets together, though there was nothing to direct their aim but the smoke of the enemy's guns. Subegadis, however, finding himself short of powder, and seeing that as fast as his enemies were killed others advanced nearer and nearer, and having besides no water, began to be alarmed for the situation he held, lest he should be surrounded, and therefore made his retreat up the mountain opposite to us, where he again fought very hard, and killed great numbers as they attempted to ascend; but, our troops being so numerous, he was obliged to fly, four of his bravest officers being killed, and a great number of his men cut off. Our troops were now so thoroughly wearied, that it was impossible for us to follow much farther; and Subegadis himself was so worn out with fatigue, that he was obliged to drop his shield to one of the Ras's soldiers, who was within ten yards of him, and the latter was so tired that he could pursue no farther.

The rocks were indeed so very steep that, in order to descend them, we were obliged at times to go upon our hands and feet, and to creep down backwards; which enabled Subegadis, with



his brothers and a number of soldiers, to escape, and take refuge near the sea-coast, in the country of the Taltals or Bedouins. The Ras, being very anxious to follow, we kept descending until evening, when we stopped, not more than half-way down the mountain, for the night. There the Ras took up his quarters between two large pieces of rock: while I and Mr. Coffin slept with his guards, lying round him in a circle.

In the morning, we again began to descend, the Ras being obliged to go on foot, as well as ourselves, until we reached the wilderness; below which we pursued the tired rebels until night. Some of the Fit-aurari's soldiers killed a few, who were wearied almost to death, and took two hundred head of cattle, which they killed and left behind, being too tired to drive them forwards.

We stopped in this *barakei*, or wilderness, until the next morning, and then began to return, the soldiers being greatly exhausted and in want of water. On our return, I and Mr. Coffin, with about four hundred of the Ras's soldiers, lost the Ras in the woody desert, when in search of water, and during the night were encamped by ourselves, almost starved, and crying out "No bread, no water." Next day, we fell in with about six hundred of the Ras's soldiers, who, upon seeing us, at first thought they had



found the Ras, who had been lost all night as well as ourselves; we searched all day for him, but to no purpose, and the next day determined to go to the camp, where the baggage and our provisions were left. We reached on the following day. Upon seeing us come towards the camp, they of course thought the Ras could not be far off, as they did not know where he was any more than we. After refreshing ourselves with a little maize and *berenter*, we built a *goja*\*, and slept comfortably until next morning. Our tent came up next day, and while we were pitching it we heard that the Ras had fallen in with a great number of the rebels' cattle, which he had taken, and was encamped on a mountain not far off: upon which, we saddled our mules, and started immediately, leaving our horses and baggage to follow, and, in about three hours reached the Ras's camp upon the mountain, where we found that he had got a large *goja* built, and meant to stay some time. He talked with me and Mr. Coffin some time, and asked us how we came to lose ourselves; when, after stating to him how it had happened, he seemed satisfied and laughed heartily.

We stopped three days upon this mountain,

\* The name of tents built with boughs.



where we lived pretty well, there being plenty of corn in a village at the top, belonging to the rebels, and having maize\* brought from the main camp. We marched hence to Ardergahso, where we joined the main army, which had received orders to meet us there. Having burnt the town of the above name, we stopped two days, and then marched to the plain of Ardergahso; where the corn was ready to cut, which it took us five days to destroy. We marched thence to the river Munnai, the finest country in that part of Abyssinia for corn and cattle, where we stopped a week to destroy every thing. Here is the famous church, Kudus Michael, the neighbourhood of which is remarkable for a kind of red cabbage, called *hamley gannet*, or the cabbage of paradise. Thence we proceeded to Deverer Martior, a country belonging to the Tigré Murernan Woldi Samuel. The road over the mountain this day was so bad, that we lost a great number of asses and mules; and a few men and women, who were obliged to give way in the throng, fell over the precipices and were dashed to pieces.

We next marched to Kerserou, on our return to Enderta, and then to Ardat, and encamped

\* Maize is a good beverage made of honey and *tsudder*. In the Amharic it is called *tsug*. *Berenter* is a common loaf, baked upon the coals, with a hot stone in the middle of it.



about two miles from the spot where we had been formerly stationed on our advance from Erdereh, on account of the dead carcasses of asses left behind. We stopped here till the 30th of October; the camp being very unhealthy, and I myself so very ill that the Ras thought it best to send me home to Chelicut. Mr. Coffin accompanied me, and we arrived there on the 8th of November.

November 11th. The drum was beat, and orders were issued in the market-place of Antàlo to cut all trees and bushes in every direction, on the road to the Amhara, for the Ras to pass to war with Guxo, upon hearing which Mr. Coffin started the next day to join the Ras.

Guxo, we were informed, had forced the king Itsa Guarlu to call him Ras, and to deliver up his wife, whom he took to himself; he likewise sent a messenger to the Ras, but nobody knew with what intent, as the Ras kept the communication to himself. The drum was again beat on the following Wednesday, to prepare for war against the new Ras, Woldi Michael, or Guxo—Woldi Michael being his christian name—who had determined to besiege Samen, and advance to Tigré, the Tigré rebels forming his Fit-aurari, or van army.

November 29th. The Ras arrived at Antàlo, and gave orders to his people to be ready on the



following Tuesday ; but news being brought the next day, that the former report was untrue, and that Guxo had not yet started from Gondar, having merely sent his head general, Ackly Marro, to war against Ras Guebra, of Samen, the Ras thought it useless to march in person, but sent some trusty chiefs to join Ras Guebra, delaying his own expedition till Guxo should appear himself in the field.

Ras Welled Selassé had previously sent four messengers to Guxo, to inform him that it was neither he nor his father before him that could conquer Tigré, and therefore recommended him not to give himself the trouble of crossing the Tacazzé, but to send him word, by the first messenger, on what plain he would like best to meet him, adding that, as Guxo had a great body of horse, a large plain would probably suit him best. The second messenger he directed to bring him word of his first day's march ; the third of his second ; and the fourth of his third. Orders were then given, in every part of the country, to clothe their servants, feed their horses and mules, and prepare for war against the return of the messengers.

December 6th. Ito Woldi Raphael, the son of Ito Sevato, younger brother to Ras Welled Selassé, together with the chief of the Bora,



Safarling Guebra Abba, and Ito Woldi Samuel of Salora, marched to the frontiers of Guxo's dominions, and there encamped till the return of the Ras's messengers.

The messengers returned with a conciliatory answer, but, in the mean time, Waxum\* Comfu of the Argare Lasta having marched with his army, by the Ras's orders, to Guido, a country in Guxo's dominions, was attacked by an army of about five thousand of Guxo's horse, whom he defeated in the plain of Ardisart, commonly called Ferasenaiyer Medah, or horseman's plain, after which he burnt all their towns and villages, and brought off what cattle he could find, amounting to five thousand bullocks, and a great number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats: with these came a great number of prisoners, chiefly villagers, who did not carry arms, and who reported that a great number of men were killed by Waxum Comfu's musketry, there not being one musket with this detachment of Guxo's army.

This news, brought to the Ras on the 19th of December, at Antàlo, gave him great joy. Guxo had formerly been on terms of great friendship with the Gusmarsh Gudlu, of Walkayt; after the death of the latter, Walkayt was governed by

\* Waxum is an ancient title of the Chiefs.



his son, the Gusmarsh Salada, a man who is reckoned to be the strongest person in Abyssinia; and it is reported, that when he was in an ill humour with his horse, he could, with one blow upon the head, kill the animal. I have been told that he has often done this when dissatisfied with his horse's temper, but I never saw it, although I was a particular friend of his, when he was with the Ras Welled Selassé, in 1808. He was about six feet high, and the stoutest man I ever saw. This country was afterwards taken from him by his Blitingatore, Woldi Comfu, who took upon himself his master's title of Gusmarsh, and governed all Walkayt; while the Gusmarsh Salada was obliged to fly to the Ras and others for support. Ito Woldi Gabriel, who had a great district in Walkayt, under Salada, also fled to Guxo, with whom he got so much in favour, that he gave him his daughter, and sent an army with him, from Gondar, to reduce Walkayt.

The army was first put under command of Woldi Gabriel, two-thirds of which were Galla, as most of Guxo's horsemen are, he himself, indeed, being a Galla born. Before this army left Gondar, Guxo gave his son-in-law the title of Gusmarsh of all Walkayt, from the borders of the Shangalla to the Tacazzé.



In December, 1810, Woldi Gabriel advanced to the borders of Walkayt, where he was met by Woldi Comfu's troops, commanded by his brother, on the plain of Assader; when a very hard battle was fought, which ended in the death of the Gusmarsh Woldi Gabriel, Guxo's son-in-law, and with the loss of fifteen hundred Galla horsemen; the remainder returned to Gondar. This battle lessened Guxo's pride, Woldi Comfu having sent him word, that though he was only a friend and servant of the Ras, yet even he did not think it worth his while to meet the army sent by Guxo, because he did not head it himself. This intelligence greatly satisfied Ras Welled Selassé.

December 26th. News was spread in Antàlo by the Shoa *cofla*, that some strange white man was advancing from Shoa to Tigré, and, as I had formerly received a letter from the Company's agent at Mocha, concerning Mr. Mungo Park, who entered Africa to the westward, I was led to believe that the traveller might prove to be that gentleman; for which reason, I asked the Ras for permission to go in search of him. This he at first granted, but, news being brought that Gojee and Liban had fought and that the latter was defeated, I was not allowed to go; as the Ras told me there was no other road



through their country, excepting that which joined to Wosen Segued's of Efat, and Gojee being at variance with Tigré, no *cofla*, or individual, would be able to travel without being murdered by him, if it proved true that he had conquered Liban.

In February, 1809, Gojee had taken the usual barbarous trophies from all the Tigré *coflas*, and had plundered them of their property, slaves, &c. to revenge himself for the blood shed by Tigré in 1807; and, to provoke Ras Welled Selassé, he had chosen out twelve of the Antàlo people, on account of that place being the Ras's residence, and took the eyes out of eleven of them; from the twelfth he took out only one eye, and then, tying them in a string together, left the man with one eye to conduct the others to their camp, where nearly all died. This is a trifling instance of Gojee's barbarity, of which I have heard examples too horrid to relate.

January 14th, 1811. The Ras's messenger returned from the Gusmarsh Liban, who said the news that Gojee's messenger reported was not true, as Liban had never had any engagement at all with Gojee; though, after plundering his country and returning to his own, Gojee had followed him, and cut off some horse, and taken Liban's tent, which was a long way in the



rear of the army, that chief never suspecting he would dare to follow him. On the arrival of this news, I had some hopes of fulfilling my intention of going to Shoa.

January 20th. Guebra Guro came in, as he had done formerly, to the Ras, with one of his rebel brothers, with stones upon their necks; when they were forgiven as before. But the Ras refused to receive Subegadis, who wished also to have made it up; but, having the blood of so many chiefs upon him, "How is it possible," said the Ras, "for him to remain about me in safety, even if I were to forgive him?"

February 1st. The Ras came to Chelicut, with an intention of meeting Ras Ilo's brother, Palambarus Woldi Toclu, but he did not arrive until the 4th. The same day, a very unpleasant circumstance occurred to me and Mr. Coffin. The old Copti Gorgis\*, who, it seems, was dissatisfied with the treatment he had received from the Company's agent at Mocha, forged a letter in Arabic, in the name of the governor of Ayth, near Amphila, on the coast; addressed to all the chief-priests, and advising them to be upon their guard, as the Feringees, or English, were ex-

\* Gorgis, an old Copti, the only one remaining of the train of the Egyptian Abuna.



pected to land at Amphila, with an intention to march to the Ras Welled Selassé's territories, and make war upon the Christians in Abyssinia; and, if they did not put to death Pearce and Coffin, who had got acquainted with the roads throughout the country, it might be of very serious consequence to them. This letter was sealed with a false stamp, in the name of the governor of Ayth. All this being told us by Gorgis' servant, who had been with him to Mocha, I went immediately to the Ras and told him what I had heard, to which he replied, "I am not surprised at Gorgis, as he once was found in league with some others, in the time of Gusmarsh Woldi Gabriel, Ras Michael's son, and was caught filling a hole with powder under the sofa I slept upon, for which he was to have been paid by the Gusmarsh Woldi Gabriel, had it succeeded; but it was not God's will it should be so. I chained Gorgis," he went on to say, "with an intention to punish him, but, at last, I sent him about his business, as I did not like to take away his life on my own account, but left him to the judgment of God." He added, "Do not be alarmed at such news as this, for no one shall hurt you while I am living."

February 8th. Palambarus Woldi Toclú begged the Ras to let him see me fire at a cloth spread



upon the mountain above Chelicut, about three quarters of a mile distant, with the cannon before mentioned; and it greatly astonished him when he saw the shot hit so true.

February 9th. This chief returned to his own country, and the Ras, on his taking leave, made him a present of two handsome matchlocks, and a velvet *deno*, a dress made up in the fashion of the sheepskin usually worn. It was my intention to have gone along with him as far as Sallabella, his country, and to try and penetrate thence to Shoa; but difficulties were thrown in the way by the Ras, and I was myself so ill with a sore throat at the time, that it could not well have been attempted.

February 17th. I heard from a friend, who had just come from Walkayt, that a white man had arrived there from Tombuctoo by the way of Ras-el-feel, and I now was happy to think that I had not gone with the Palambarus, as I had intended, for the purpose of giving all the assistance in my power to this traveller; I immediately, however, sent off a trusty servant, with a letter directed to Mr. Mungo Park, British traveller in Africa; begging him, in case of his arrival in Walkayt, to let me know by the bearer, and I would immediately join him there, and do him all the service in my power.



The next day, I heard from a very respectable merchant, of the Walkayt *cofla*, that, when he left that district, a white man was expected there, who had been a prisoner three years among the Shangalla, and had been made to carry wood, water, &c., like a slave; but who, by good fortune, had at length made his escape. I took this merchant with me to the Ras, acquainting him with what had been told me, and mentioned that I suspected it was my countryman, in great distress. The good old gentleman immediately sent a messenger to the Gusmati Woldi Comfu, desiring him, if any white man should arrive in his country, to clothe him, and feed him well for some time, and then give him mules, servants, &c., and forward him to Antàlo.

March 4th. My servant came back without the least intelligence of the traveller, which made me think that, though it might be true that he had been seen as near Walkayt as Ras-el-feel, he had gone on to Suakin on the coast.

March 8th. A messenger from Guxo came to the Ras, with offers of conciliation. He was answered by the Ras, that if he would put all the priests, who had formerly been left at the head of different Amhara churches by the Abuna, in their proper stations, and let them follow the religion they professed, and not make war with his



friends, Ras Ilo and Liban, he would always continue on amicable terms with him.

March 18th. Liban's messenger arrived at Gibba, where the Ras was keeping his fast, with intelligence that Liban was within one day's march of Deverertavor, Guxo's capital, that his Fit-aurari had fought with Guxo's Fit-aurari, though without gaining any decided advantage, and inviting the Ras, if he were his friend, to come by Lasta to his assistance. The Ras did not, however, think proper to march himself, after the messenger he had sent to Guxo, but detached Waxum Comfu and Bashaw Wolockedan, with a strong army to assist Liban, telling him, if he were defeated, he would then march himself; and orders were given accordingly, throughout the country, to be in readiness.

March 25th. Intelligence was brought that Liban's Fit-aurari had beaten Guxo, and driven him back to his camp, and that Liban had burnt and destroyed all Daunt, Wadler, and Begemder. The old Ras was far from pleased on hearing of his friend's burning Christian churches; Guxo, it was said, had not offered to march against Liban, but had let him advance as near as possible, that he might not easily make his escape. The Ras now greatly wished to proceed, but his chiefs persuaded him to the contrary.



On the 29th, the messenger, who was sent by the Ras to Walkayt, arrived without hearing any tidings of the white man, which confirmed me still more in my own opinion, that he had gone down to Suakin or some other place upon the coast. The white man seen in Shoa, I afterwards heard, was a Turkish merchant, who had gone up thither with goods from Zela.

March 30th. Guebra Guro came to my house to discourse with me and Mr. Coffin concerning the usage he had received from the Ras, and told us, that, if the Ras should go to war with the Amhara, his brother Subegadis would take possession of all Tigré during his absence. Two days after, I and Mr. Coffin went to the Ras, thinking it best to acquaint him with Guebra Guro's visit and intelligence, for fear of his hearing of the circumstance from some other quarter. When I told him what had passed, he flew into a passion, saying, "What business had you in his company?" and added, "go you with them." I told him the country I belonged to was governed by a king, and that I would return to it rather than join his rebels, as he told me; saying which, I went away, and immediately afterwards sent to his house the horse he had given me, and prepared for our departure. Our friend Baharnegash Yasous happening to be with the Ras at the time, and hearing



what he said, told him that he was in the wrong. Chellica Comfu also told the Ras that I had been like a slave to him for nearly six years, and said, "How can you be angry with him for having committed no fault?" Others also spoke in my behalf. The next morning he sent for me, but I refused to go, until the Baharnegash of Chellica Comfu came and persuaded me; when I came before him, he asked me "What was the reason of my returning my horse?" I told him that "I had been better than five years as a slave to him, and during three wars, and long encampments in his service, had sometimes been almost as naked as I was born, and when no plunder was to be gained had often nearly died with hunger; and that in return for my services he had told me to go and join his rebellious subjects, which I would never do, though, if he would grant me leave, I would return to my native country." In answer he said, "I only told you so from being out of temper with something else, and I am in the wrong, you have always behaved as you say;" and then he gave me and Mr. Coffin a *bruly* of brandy, and the matter was made up. On the same day, he gave me the large piece of cultivated land, called Wogarte, with all *arristies*, or ploughmen, with their ploughs and oxen, fifteen in number. The produce of this land was merely for my cattle and



servants, and my standing allowance went on as usual.

April 4th. News was brought, that Liban had burnt a church belonging to Guxo, called Tuckerlie Yasous, which enraged Guxo so much, that he marched himself to the field and drove Liban before him, burning all the towns and villages in Daunt, Wadler, and Damot. This news much displeased the Ras, who determined to march at the latter end of the month.

April 9th. A present arrived for the Ras, from Wosen Segued, king of Shoa, of seven very beautiful horses, for his own riding, and three mules, one of which he had received from the Gusmarsh Guxo, and which he sent expressly to the Ras, to shew him that he had more regard for him than for Guxo ; there were also six young boys and six young girls, slaves, who accompanied the present, which was graciously received.

On the following day, he gave me the choice of one of the six girls for myself, and the rest he presented to his women. With these presents came a pair of red leather shoes, for the Ras, from the king of Shoa, which is considered as a token of great affection.

Although the Ras had determined to march upon the 29th of this month, yet, attempting to start, the priests came from all parts of the coun-



try, and assembled before him at Antàlo, assuring him that it was not a season for war, and that he must not go until the rains were over in September, which grieved him very much, as Guxo had totally defeated Liban, and taken Barbar his capital. Liban fled across the river Bashilo, which often begins about the latter end of May to overflow, on account of the early rains, in Wochale, where he remained safe from Guxo, expecting that the Ras would march to his assistance.

April 30th. A very hard battle was fought by Baharnegash Subhart and Kantiva Sasinas, against Shum Woldi, of Zervan Bure, and the sons of Kantiva Amon, of Arli and Fellou. Shum Woldi was killed by a soldier belonging to Sasinas; although Shum Woldi was a very old man, he killed three with his spear before he fell, one of whom was brother to Sasinas. After he had fallen, and Sasinas was told the news, he rode up to the old man and cut his throat, which greatly disgraced him, as every one was of opinion that it proved him a coward. Fifteen chiefs were killed upon Shum Woldi's side, with seventy men; and on Baharnegash Subhart's side, three chiefs and twenty-four soldiers. The Ras was much grieved at this affair, but, as he had given them leave to fight it out, he could say nothing



to either party. This disturbance made the road down to Massowa very unsafe for some time; the relations of Shum Woldi, together with his son, having raised about seventy thousand men more than before, only waited for the Ras's permission to be revenged upon the others for the barbarity of Sasinas. Nebriid, who left Tigré as a rebel, died in Wadler, on his return with Guxo's army from the country of Liban to Gondar, and was buried in the church of Abba-garva, April 1811. There was great crying for him throughout all Tigré; the Ras himself joined in the ceremony for two days, and gave one hundred pieces of cloth, equal to one hundred dollars, to the priests of the Trinity Church, at Chelicut, and one hundred to the priests of Axum; offering up some prayers for the deceased, which they call *fettart*. These priests always get well paid when any great man dies, and from the poor they get part of what property they may leave behind; on which account I really believe that they often pray for people to die.

May 4th. I and Mr. Coffin went to the Ras, to inform him that we were continually threatened by some of his head-priests, and that we hoped he would allow us to go back to our own country. This was not done through fear of what they could do to us, but to see if it were possible to



get some of them turned out of their places, but it was to no purpose. He said, "You cannot go at present, but no one shall hurt you while I am alive. The two guns your king sent make all my enemies fear me, both upon the plains and upon the Ambas; and, if I were to let you go, who would know how to use them?"

May 6th. The country of Agamé, belonging to Subegadis, was given to his brother Sardie, whom he had so long confined, but who fortunately made his escape by bribing the man to whom he was chained.

May 12th. Subegadis came into the camp of Salafe Tusfu Mariam by night. He was one of the Ras's chiefs, sent through the different settlements as far as Degan to gather in the Ras's yearly income, and, upon his return through the country of Agamé, under the mountain of Ambaarra, belonging to Subegadis, he sent away a great many of his men, with the Ras's money; upon which Subegadis, seeing that he had but a small force left, came upon him in the night, and made a great slaughter, Tusfu Mariam himself being also killed, which grieved the Ras very much, although he blamed him for his misconduct.

May 29th. Guxo arrived in Deverertavor, after driving Liban one day's march beyond the Ba-



shilo, and gave his country to his own chiefs, Anderwar Siddisto and Buro Gala, who command a very large body of cavalry, and are chiefs of considerable importance. Guxo is supposed at this time to have more power than ever Itsa Tecla Gorgis possessed, and, on this occasion, he took with him to the field twenty-eight thousand horse, besides his foot, and a few matchlocks; yet, though his army was so numerous, he was always in dread of Ras Welled Selassé's musketry, and at this time, sent his chief priest Allicar Redan, and his Balermal, Ito Coularlit, to the Ras, to intreat him to be friends with him, and make it up. The Ras refused his request, and said, that if he did not release the Gusmarsh Christy Zonde, and the Cannasmash Wardic, of Gojam and Damot, and give them back their country, he would, when the rains in September were over, let him know who Ras Welled Selassé was.

In the middle of June, Liban found an opportunity of crossing the Bashilo without much loss, and, returning to his own country, fought with Guxo's two generals, and, after great slaughter, took Anderwar Siddisto prisoner, and drove Buro Gala to a high and strong mountain, called Cugso Amba. Guxo could not venture to march to their assistance, as Hilier Mariam, Ras Guebra's



son, had burned and destroyed all Wogara, and advanced to within a short day's march of Gondar. Ras Welled Selassé's subjects, not being willing to go to war with the Amhara, as the locust appeared in all parts of Tigré in the month of July, the campaign was deferred, and Liban and all Guxo's enemies seeing this, were glad to make terms with Guxo, and to be friends, though more from fear than any motives of good-will.

In the latter end of July, Guxo sent two of his chief secretaries to the Ras, declaring that he would agree to any thing he proposed, except the release of Christy Zonde and the Cannasmash Wardic, who, were they once set free, would soon overthrow his country. With this the Ras appeared satisfied, and sent with the messengers Dofter Aster, one of the most learned men in the country, to agree about the expence of bringing the Abuna into the country; but Guxo said, that he would not agree to any thing of that kind until he should know the truth of the Ras's heart, because, if the Abuna were to come from Egypt, it would be the occasion of Ras Welled Selassé's accompanying him to Gondar.

August 18th. Guebra Guro was chained by the Ras's orders and sent to Alajjay, a very strong mountain in Wojierrat, where all chiefs who had offended were confined, in general for life before



the Ras's time; but he, being the most merciful governor ever known in Abyssinia, never keeps even the greatest of his enemies long in confinement, and never puts them to death except for murder; while his predecessors have been known to burn alive or cut off the limbs of those who have fallen under their displeasure for the slightest offences. Gojee is the most cruel chief that ever was known, not even excepting Ras Michael, who, though very severe to chiefs under him, if they disobeyed, yet was always kind to the poor, and very liberal in giving away his money, while Ras Welled Selassé, though a man of the tenderest feelings, is the greatest miser I believe that ever existed. The poor get nothing from him but the yearly offerings, which all Christians, that is to say, Christian chiefs, are bound to bestow by the laws of their religion; nevertheless he is a great favourite with the poor, as he does them justice when wronged by the rich or powerful.

September 13th. The Gusmati Ischias and two of Nebrid Aram's sons, who had been among the Tigré rebels, came from the Amhara, with stones about their necks, to ask forgiveness, at Mucculla, where the Ras was keeping the yearly holyday. The Ras, upon seeing the Gusmati, rose from his sofa, and kissed him, saying,



“Although it is far from the first time you have rebelled against me, yet I forgive you from my heart,” and immediately gave orders that the Gusmati Ischias’s districts should be returned to him, while to the sons of Nebrid Aram, Ito Woldi Michael, and Ito Melker, he gave half what they had formerly possessed.

The small-pox at this time committed such ravages throughout the country, that all thoughts of war were abandoned. As the malady increased, it became more like a plague than the small-pox, and in a great many towns and villages the people lost all their children, and numbers of grown-up persons, who had not had the disease before, died also. The only mode by which they suppose the complaint can be alleviated is to keep themselves from the air as much as possible, and let nobody see them who has been out of doors, or in the sunshine; they also tie up all cocks, he-cats, and other male animals, that chance to be about their houses, from the strange notion, that were they to associate at that time with their females, it would endanger the lives, or at any rate increase the sufferings, of those afflicted with the complaint\*. For a similar reason, during all kinds of sickness, indeed, they will not allow a

\* The Abyssinians in general lay their patients afflicted with small-pox on wood-ashes, or river-sand.



friend to enter the house where the patient lies ; and they never wash themselves or their clothing when ill, being the dirtiest people in the world at these times, though, when in health, they are remarkably cleanly in their persons. I used continually to find fault with them for these superstitious and unhealthy practices, but to no purpose ; though, for the sake of example, when my own people, eleven in number, were afflicted with the small-pox, I put them all together into a separate and clean house, and every morning and evening turned them out into the air, and made them wash themselves, though much against their inclinations. This practice brought upon me continual quarrels with my neighbours, though nobody dared interfere, as I told them what I did was for their own benefit, and to prevent their dying like dogs ; and fortunately it was the will of God that they all got well in a short time.

At Axum, the mortality among the people was so great, as to occasion the loss of the cattle also, there not being a man or boy left in some families to open their pens and turn them out to grass. Thirty cows were found dead in one fold. At Adowa, the ravages of the disease were not so severe, as a great number of its inhabitants had previously had the disorder the last time it appeared amongst them ; but all the other places in



Amhara, Tigré, Enderta, and the adjoining districts, Samen, Lasta, Begemder, Gondar, and Gojam, shared the same fate. The locust devoured the corn to the east of the Tacazzé\*, and the small-pox carried off the people in all quarters, so that a great part of the country was left in a state of complete desolation.

\* The locust is never known to get beyond the mountains of Samen.



## CHAPTER II.

Destruction of the town of Bolento by the Galla—Government and manners of the Galla—Mr. Coffin's departure for Mocha—Present from the King of Shoa to the Ras—The Small-pox—Death of Ito Yasous, the King's brother, and his sister, Ozoro Mantwaub, wife of the Ras—Affliction of the Ras—Funeral of the Ozoro—Movements of Guxo—The Ras takes to wife a daughter of the King Itsa Tecla Gorgis—Battle between two chiefs at Antàlo—Submission of Subegadis to the Ras—Plans of Ras Guebra and Guxo—Locusts—Famine—Itsa Bede Mariam, formerly king, visits Antàlo—Insecurity of property—Reigning kings of Abyssinia—The Ras assembles his army—Defeat of Hilier Mariam by the Tigré army—Presents to messengers of good tidings—Insurrection of Subegadis—Release of Guebra Guro.

SEPTEMBER 17th. The Ras reviewed his troops at Antàlo. November 12th, he arrived at Chelicut from Mucculla, and the next day marched for Bolento, the frontier of the Galla, where we arrived in three days, and to our surprise found it totally in ruins, although, when I saw it, four years ago, it was the strongest place of defence in all Abyssinia. Welled Shabo, king of the Assubo pagan Galla, had come with his army in the night, and succeeded in getting into the town, by a small breach in the wall, which had fallen down during the heavy rains. In storming the place, the Galla killed three hundred and seventy-



five people, and drove, it is said, upwards of two thousand men, women, and children, over its walls, where many were dashed to pieces. There is not a place, I believe, round all the mountain of Bolento, less than thirty yards steep, except where the Galla found means to enter, the rest of the wall being in good repair, the front gateway having double walls, and within it flat-topped houses, upon which the people got to defend the gate, when attacked by an enemy. On the tops of the houses was a wall parapet about three feet thick, with holes made in it for firing matchlocks through, which no Galla will ever face. The Ras stopped until he had repaired the wall, and was visited continually by the different Galla chiefs in the neighbourhood, who brought him, as presents, *sangas* and other cattle, and he in return gave them clothes and silver ornaments for their arms and heads.

From the mountain of Bolento you can see the Galla walking in the capital of Assubo. You can also see Carra, another large town, at a great distance. Assubo, Carra, and Hiyer, are the three largest towns of the Assubo Galla. I was in Hiyer, on our return from Edjow, in 1807, when we stopped three days; our camp was at some distance, but the Ras received an invitation from Welled Shabo to see the town, and I went with



him. Like most of the towns in Abyssinia, it has no walls, but stands in the plain, whereas the Abyssinians in general build upon heights.

Welled Shabo is still alive, and often comes to see the Ras, though he is no longer king. The Assubo Galla elect their king for seven years only, which office is confined to the offspring of an ancient family. Kecty was the father of Shabo, and, after Kecty had been king seven years, his brother Bolento was made king, from whom the mountain of Bolento took its name, as he first fortified the place; but it was afterwards taken from him by the Christians. After Bolento came Shabo; Welled Shabo Combally, brother to Shabo, was the next king, but, dying a short time before his time was out, his son, Welled Combally, the present king, was elected.

I saw Shabo and his son, with several other principal Galla, sitting down to feast upon a fine fat *sanga*. As soon as the animal was killed, the blood was caught hot in horns, the first being given to Shabo, the second to his son, and so on in rotation as long as it lasted, and they seemed to relish it as much as my own countrymen would a draught of porter or wine. Although they in general drink the blood, they always broil the meat a little, and upbraid the Christians



for eating it raw, like dogs. They have no regular wives, except such as belong to the family of their kings, who always take a relative to wife. They may have as many concubines as they please, but the children by the latter cannot be elected kings, or succeed to any of their father's property. All others do as they think proper, and relationship forms no objection where they take a liking.

December 25th. The Ras returned to Betmariah, in Wojjerat, where we kept our Christmas-day, and on the 27th proceeded to Gurref Deddeck.

January 1st, 1812. We went to Antàlo, where the Ras reviewed his Enderta, Wojjerat, Temben, and Giralta troops.

On the 14th, Mr. Coffin took leave of the Ras at Antàlo, and on the 16th left Chelicut for Mocha. The Ras would not let him go, before he had made me swear to be bound for his returning in the space of three months. He gave Mr. Coffin, for himself, fifty pieces of common cloth, two fine cloths for his own dress, and a fine *gersillah*\* skin dress, the latter worth two *wakeahs* of gold. He also gave him thirty *wakeahs* of gold, to deliver to Captain Rud-

\* The *gersillah* is a fine black animal of the leopard kind.



land; and I likewise sent by him, as a present to Captain Rudland, a tame lion, which I had taught to follow me like a dog, and two civet-cats.

January 24th. Messengers from Wosen Segued, king of Shoa, arrived with a present of ten horses, two mules, and twelve slaves, to the Ras, which present was kindly accepted, as at other times, with an inclination of the head. The small-pox still raged like a plague throughout the country.

February 18th. Ito Yasous died of this malady, and his sister Ozoro Mantwaub on the 16th; they were brother and sister to the present king, Itsa Guarlu, now in Gondar, who is lineally descended from the late king, Itsa Ischias, who was dethroned by Guxo. Ito Yasous was an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Salt's. The Ozoro's death grieved every one who knew her, as she was one of the most charitable persons in Abyssinia, and was the favourite wife of the Ras, who sat close by her when she died. As she breathed her last, he drew his *shuttle*, or knife, to stab himself, but I caught hold of his arm and took it away, and with the help of some slaves prevented him from committing so dreadful an act. He lay afterwards for some time senseless on the ground, but, at last, when water was thrown upon him, he came to himself, though, for some



days, he appeared quite inconsolable, and ate nothing, saying continually "Is God angry with me?" A great many of his relations died at the same time, and throughout the country nothing was heard but lamentations for their loss.

Ozoro Mantwaub and Ito Yasous were buried at Chelicut, and a house was built over their grave. The grave was first dug, and then a large coffin or trough, made out of the trunk of a large darro-tree, formerly serving as doors to the Ras's house, was placed in it\*. I myself carried Ozoro Mantwaub in my arms from the church to the grave; she was sewed up in a fine white Indian cloth, and over that was tied the skin upon which she died: they call it a *neet*, and it is formed either of a cow's or goat's hide. The whole of the people, from the king to the town-cast, sleep with their bodies bare upon it, though they have a carpet beneath. Nobody, except her priest, myself, her women-servants, and the eunuchs who used to attend upon her, and of whom she had a great number, was allowed to see her; but the Ras, from the confidence he reposed in me, always allowed me to eat with him and the Ozoro, telling her, at the same time,

\* It is a common practice to take doors to make a coffin for great persons at their death, if they have wooden ones, for, in general, they are of cane.



I was welcome to visit her at her own meals, and, if I did not come, she might, if she thought proper, send for me. This was certainly a great mark of distinction, as his dearest friend or relation was not allowed such a liberty\*.

Guxo, being alarmed at the prevalence of the small-pox, fled to Gojam, but, finding it raged in that country, he went to Mettreah, an island on the Lake Tzana, where he resided until the disorder began to abate. There are several islands on this lake upon which he has houses, namely one at Mettreah, where his brother is buried, and another on Rama, where his mother is interred; but his favourite house stands upon the small island Carretta Wolletta. The disorder, however, having by this time spread from Dembea to that island, induced him to retire to Mettreah. As soon as the complaint had subsided, and he could venture to Gondar, Deverertavor, and Leuo, he sent his head general, Ackly Marro, to make war upon Ras Guebra; but Ackly Marro, finding that Welled Selassé was previously warned

\* It is singular that Mr. Salt was not allowed this favour, as he expressly states that, owing to the extreme jealousy of the Ras in these matters, he never, except once, and then by a stratagem of the lady's, obtained a sight even of her person. Perhaps the Ras might consider the rank of Mr. Salt as too nearly approaching his own to admit of that degree of familiarity in which he thought an inferior might be safely indulged.—*Editor.*



100 GUXO RECONCILED WITH RAS GUEBRA.

of Guxo's intention, and had dispatched five hundred musket-men to Ras Guebra's assistance, with Shum Temben Aversaw, the eldest son of Ito Manassey, sent word back to his master Guxo, that the muskets of Tigré were so numerous that it would be folly to attack Samen, were he even to march in person; the country being so mountainous and so disadvantageous for cavalry.

At this time, Cannasmash Hilier Mariam, Ras Guebra's son, had taken Walkayt, and driven Woldi Comfu to Waldubba, which made Guxo wish to come to terms with Ras Guebra. Accordingly, it was agreed that the king Itsa Tecla Gorgis should settle the dispute that had arisen between them. After peace was established, Guxo offered his daughter in marriage to Ras Guebra's son, Hilier Mariam, with the view of detaching him from the interest of Ras Welled Selassé; who, when he learned the intelligence, ordered his troops to return from Ras Guebra's dominions.

At this time, the Ras, not appearing inclined for war, spent his time chiefly in going from Antalo to Chelicut, Mucculla, &c., for his amusement. He seemed to have quite forgotten his favourite Ozoro Mantwaub, as, about this period, he agreed, though upwards of seventy, to take to



wife Itsa Tecla Gorgis' daughter, Ozoro Sean; who accordingly on July 11th arrived with a great company, at midnight, at Fellegdarro, where the Ras had been employed, during the month of June, in building a house for her reception. She was about thirteen years of age, of a very black complexion, like her father, but had very pretty features. The marriage was consummated the same night; the lady remained at Fellegdarro until the 3d of August, when he sent for her to Chelicut, but did not, for some time, establish her in the house occupied by his late wife.

August 8th. The Gusmarsh Tuimmerhu, of Amhara, arrived at Chelicut; he was governor of a great district on the banks of the Bashilo; but, his subjects rebelling against him, he fled to the Ras for succour, as neither Liban nor Gojee was on friendly terms with him, though his country nearly joined theirs. When he arrived at Antàlo, he presented to the Ras the horse he rode upon, which was well received.

August 29th. The Ras left Chelicut for Muculla, where he kept his new year's day, (Kodus Yohannis) and he returned to Chelicut on the 14th of September; on the 16th he went to Antàlo to review his troops, according to the



yearly custom, and to place and replace his chiefs as he thought proper.

September 17th. Palambarus Guebra Amlac, who rebelled with Nebrid Aram, came from Guxo's army with a stone upon his neck, was forgiven, and had part of his district returned to him.

September 24th. Safarling Guebra Abba quarrelled with Ito Ilo, in the market-place of Antàlo, and brought on a battle in which Guebra Abba had thirty-four men, and his mule under him, killed outright, and his two sons and several men wounded. Ilo, being a son of Balgadder Woldi Hannes, a near relation to the Ras, was assisted by all Enderta, who together overpowered Guebra Abba, although the latter never quitted his ground. Ilo had five men killed and was himself wounded. The Ras was very much concerned at this rencounter, and several times sent orders to the combatants to desist and he would render justice to both sides, but to no purpose, until night parted them.

Guebra Abba was one of the hardest-fighting chiefs the Ras ever had, and always kept the Hazorta Galla from intruding on the districts which he commanded, and which adjoined theirs. Indeed, he would have beaten all Enderta, had the dispute not happened in the town, where the



latter could get shelter behind walls and houses. The Ras was very sorry that Guebra was overpowered, for he had ever been a faithful servant to him, and he took from all those who came to Ilo's assistance half their districts, which he gave to Guebra Abba as a recompence. I told the Ras that this practice would not do in our country, for such quarrels would be deemed rebellion, and every one concerned in such an outrage would be put to death by the king's troops. Ito Middin, a great favourite with the Ras, was the chief assistant to Ilo; and was proved to have shot five men himself belonging to Guebra Abba, for which Guebra Abba demanded justice, according to their book of laws, which is kept in all their head churches; upon which Middin took sanctuary in the Ras's church at Chelicut.

October 13th. Ito Subegadis, the greatest rebel in Abyssinia, came to the Ras, with a stone upon his neck, and, although the Ras had formerly refused to receive him, yet, on seeing him personally, he forgave him. His brother Guebra Guro was still closely imprisoned in chains, and Subegadis thought, that, by submitting to the Ras, he should very likely obtain the release of his brother from confinement, but the Ras kept him close up on Alajjay. About this time, two of



Guebra Guro's servants were caught buying charms, to loosen the irons from their master's hands and legs, from an old Mahomedan fakir\*, and were ordered by the Ras to be barbarously flogged three times round the market-place of Antàlo; but the Mahomedan he only called a superstitious old fool, and sent him about his business.

November 1st. Three Balermals, people of great distinction, arrived from Ras Guebra, to inform the Ras that Guxo was upon his march to Inchetkaub, his capital, and was encamped at Mariam Wor; telling the Ras, at the same time, that their master had no other friend upon whom he could rely for assistance against his enemies; and praying that he would march, as soon as possible, by way of Lasta and Begemder, and throw himself in the rear of Guxo's army. The Ras, on hearing this proposal, suspected Ras Guebra of treachery, and insisted therefore, in his reply, on going through Samen; which made Ras Guebra send again, saying that Guxo and he had settled all their disputes. A few days after Guxo's head secretary came, in the name of his master; and, bowing at the Ras's feet, said that

\* Many, both Mahomedans and Christians, get their living by writing charms.



he had never given the least offence to Ras Guebra, or any other ally of his ; nor had he marched from Gondar to Mariam Wor, as Ras Guebra had reported, and that one day or other he would know all.

In fact, he soon did become acquainted with the real state of things ; for, a short time afterwards, a favourite priest of Guxo's came over, and disclosed to the Ras the whole affair ; when it appeared that, notwithstanding the kind treatment Ras Guebra had always received from Ras Welled Selassé, who had three times forgiven his rebellious practices, he still persisted in his treacherous conduct. On this occasion, it seems, he and Guxo had agreed that Ras Welled Selassé should be persuaded to march, round by Lasta and Begemder, against Guxo ; and that, after passing through Lasta, Ras Guebra, and his son Cannasmash Hilier Mariam, who had got complete possession of Walkayt, should both go down to Tigré, and endeavour to seduce the remainder of the army left to guard that country ; a scheme in which Ras Guebra hoped to succeed, from having, for some time previously, made alliance through marriages with many chiefs of Tigré, even with the consent of the Ras, who had never suspected his treachery. After these several plots had been accomplished, the united



forces were to march in the rear of the Ras's army, while Guxo was to retreat to the plains of Gojam, where they hoped, if the Ras followed, to be able to surround him. It was upon this agreement being sworn to by Guxo and Ras Guebra, that the former had sent his daughter to the Cannasmash Hilier Mariam, who was also bound by oath to be true to the league. With his daughter Guxo sent fifty horses and fifty mules, one thousand horned cattle, cows and bulls, fifty matchlocks, twenty-five Persian carpets, fifty slaves, fifty free female servants, with silver *merdah* (necklaces,) fifty swords, and five hundred *wakeahs* of gold, as the dowry of his daughter, to his new son-in-law.

Ras Guebra, to complete his plan, without any just cause, put in chains some of his own chiefs, for the purpose of raising money to make presents, and to bribe the chiefs of Tigré and the army, who were to be left by the Ras. Amongst others, he confined the head captain of his door, or gate-keeper, Ito Guebra Mariam, and took from him five hundred *wakeahs* of gold; a like sum from his Blitingatore Gabriott, and from several others. Bashaw Abdalla, who had been there three years chained with his sons, was stripped of every farthing of his property, and was still kept in confinement. These persons, so inhumanly treated,



sent messengers to Guxo, to tell him that their master, his friend, had for no cause whatever chained them and taken their property; and Guxo, knowing them to be always faithful servants to Ras Guebra, sent one of his chief Baler-mals to beg of Ras Guebra to pardon them; as, if they had even been guilty of a small fault, he ought to think of their former services. The latter returned for answer, by one of his Baler-mals, that they had been convicted of having continually sent messengers backward and forward to Ras Welled Selassé, and that they were enemies both to himself and Guxo; adding, "For this reason I will keep them in chains as long as they live." The same chiefs had recourse to the Ras for his interference; but Ras Guebra returned the same kind of answer to his messenger as he did to Guxo's, saying, they had been proved to have sent messengers to Guxo, and were enemies both of the Ras and himself.

On Guxo's finding that the Ras had become acquainted with the whole of their plot, and that consequently he did not intend to march, he sent word to Ras Ilo of Lasta, desiring him to cut all trees and bushes, and to make a clear road for him, as he intended to march through Lasta to Edjow, his father's country. Ras Ilo told him



that if he had any servants in Lasta they might clear the road for him, if not, to come and do it himself; which sharp rebuke did not much please him.

Soon after, Guxo's messenger to the Ras arrived at Chelicut, begging him not to be offended if he took possession of Edjow, as it belonged to him by inheritance from Gongula, Ras Alli, and Alligaz; and saying that, although Gojee was Ras Alligaz's own son, and he only Ras Alli's sister's son, still he thought he had most right to the country, he being a Christian, as well as his father and grandfather, and Gojee only a Mussulman, like the great-grandfather Gongula. The Ras said he would not agree to any such attempt, as Lasta, Ilow, and Edjow, were his allies; and ended by declaring that, if he offered to march to either of them, he would immediately attack him, and assist them, and for ever put an end to his power. The warmth with which the Ras took up this affair had the desired effect, and kept Guxo at home.

The locust this year committed great ravages, and a considerable part of the country was covered with them, so as to produce a partial famine, especially in Ammerseem, where several thousands died with hunger; fifty pieces of salt, equal at the time to one dollar and a



half, being given for one *incar*, which is about one English quart, of barley. Other districts were not quite so much distressed, as, for that price, you could buy one bushel in Enderta, and in Tigré three *karoos*, equal to three pecks, for one dollar; whereas, before the locust appeared, nine *gibbertas*, or bushels, might be bought for a dollar in the market of Adowa.

The Ras kept his Christmas at Chelicut, and, on the 3rd of January, 1813, went to Antàlo. On his road he mounted his favourite horse Bulla, and rode to the plain of Bellesart, where he brought his horsemen to a sham fight; the old gentleman firing and loading again, at full gallop, with English pistols, as well as I or Mr. Coffin could do; for, although upwards of seventy years of age, he rides as lightly and as carelessly as any young man in the country.

January 20th. Itsa Bede Mariam, formerly king, arrived at Antàlo, to beg of the Ras to forgive every thing that had happened, on the part of Ras Guebra, as the latter acknowledged he had done wrong. Itsa Bede was put upon the throne, by the Degusmati Gabriel, Ras Michael's son; the latter being killed by Ras Alli of Edjow, Bede Mariam was dethroned by him, after being king only seven months, since which time he remained with Ras Guebra, and



sometimes with Ras Welled Selassé, but, being a Roman Catholic, he agrees best with Ras Guebra, who is a follower of that religion. The Ras would not listen to his propositions, but said that if Ras Guebra would not withdraw his son from Walkayt, and deliver up the whole of the country belonging to Woldi Comfu, he would prove a worse enemy to him than ever he had been before.

January 29th. Bede Mariam left Antàlo, taking with him a great many Amhara, who wished to return to Gondar, their native town, having been a long time in Tigré without hearing of their children and friends. The people of Tigré are better treated by their governors than the Amhara; a poor man among the former can get some justice done him when wronged, but in Amhara or Gondar he dares not even wear a good cloth on his back for fear of being stripped by Guxo's and Ackly Marro's soldiers. A poor old faithful Amhara, who had been servant to Mr. Coffin for three years, said he wanted to go to Gondar to see his two sons and a daughter, whom he had left nine years before. Mr. Coffin gave him leave to depart, but wished him to buy a new cloth previously, that he might appear decent when he arrived at his native place; but he replied, the rags would suit him best; "for,"



he added, "if I have a new cloth on, some of Guxo's Galla will strip me, but, if I have a ragged one, they will leave it me, and that will be at least more decent than to go naked." He then set out on his journey, equipped as he wished, and in twelve days we heard of his arrival with his children. From Chelicut, he went to Saharte the first day; the second he crossed the Tacazzé; the third he reached Sugernet, in Samen; the fourth Inchetkaub, Ras Guebra's capital; and the fifth Mariam Wor, and Gondar; thus accomplishing the journey in five days, although he was, by his own account, seventy-eight years of age.

Although it has been a long time expected that Ras Welled Selassé would march to Gondar, and place Tecla Gorgis upon the throne, matters appear still as backward as ever; as he is persuaded to wait for the Abuna from Egypt and take him with him.

The kings now living in Abyssinia are as follow: Itsa Tecla Gorgis, in Waldubba; Itsa Ischias, in Gondar; Itsa Guarlu, on the throne in that city; Itsa Yonas, in Gojam; Itsa Yoas, in Gondar; Itsa Bede Mariam, in Samen.

They are all related to each other, and, as they boast, are descended from the true race of Menelect; but the kings of Abyssinia have so many



wives, from far and near, that it makes it difficult to determine to whom the crown should descend; and this point is generally decided more by might than by right.

Messengers continually came from Woldi Comfu; and his brother, Fit-aurari Suddal, arriving, made the old Ras come at length to a determination; and accordingly, on the 5th of February, the drum was beat to assemble the army, and be in readiness to march against Abbagarva on the 6th, when we marched from Antàlo to Esta, in Saharte, where the Ras meant to remain a few days, until his troops should be all collected, and then to proceed direct to Gondar, by way of Samen: but the priests, flocking from far and near, obliged him to lay aside his intention and return to Antàlo. Soon afterwards, the drum was again beat, for all Tigré to march under the command of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, to Walkayt, against Hilier Mariam, who had by this time become very powerful. The chiefs who went under the Fit-aurari, though higher in office, were Blitingatore Wosen, and Palambarus Toclù, the sons of Nebrid Aram, and the chiefs of Shiré, altogether forming a strong army.

February 20th. News was brought that Kantiva Sasinas and the sons of Baharnegash Subhart had been beaten by the sons of Shum Woldi of



Fellou; who had been joined by Arli and a powerful district, called Gella Hatchin, one of the seven Gellas. A great number had been killed on both sides, and the whole country of Sasinas and Subhart plundered of its cattle, but no villages were burnt. The Ras immediately sent for the chiefs on both sides, and, as they had fought without his leave, and appeared equally culpable, he made both parties pay an equal quantity of cattle, at the same time accepting five hundred cows from Arli and his allies, as a present out of their plunder.

March 19th. The joyful news reached the Ras that the Tigré army had defeated Hilier Mariam, and had taken his brother, Ito Batri, and Asgas Sedit, the chief of Arbarchoho, prisoners, besides his camp-equipage, his women, and a great number of horse; leaving four hundred dead upon the field of battle. Hilier Mariam had fought very bravely, but the Tigré muskets put his horse into confusion, which led to a general rout.

The Ras bestowed valuable presents upon the messengers: to the first, he gave a horse, spear, and shield, with a fine piece of muslin; and to each of the others a mule. Chellica Comfu, a friend of mine, had ordered his servant to visit me with the news; so I also was obliged to part



with a mule, it being a regular custom, all over Abyssinia, to give a handsome reward to the *messerach*, or bringer of good tidings, after the gaining of a battle, or on any other joyful event, such as the birth of a child, &c. On such occasions, the household servants of the great man plague their master until he consents to send them to his nearest friend, or kindred, knowing that they are sure to obtain a mule, a cloth, or some other article of value ; shabby treatment on such an occasion being considered a mark of hostility. In like manner, when one chief sends a messenger to another upon any important business, if the latter does not present the messenger with something of value, he is considered as an enemy.

March 24th. News was brought that Subegadis had plundered all his brother Sardie's country, and had even marched into Arramat ; the Ras immediately ordered Giralta, Tserra, Asmo, and Derra, to unite with Arramat against him. On the approach of his assailants, Subegadis marched gradually back to his own district, and they followed him to Adergraat, to which place it had been his object to entice them ; where he gave them battle, and soon routed them in all directions, killing and taking a great many prisoners, and, among others, some of the Ras's relatives,



whom he would not release, till the Ras had sworn to give him half of Agamé, and release his brother, Guebra Guro, from confinement. The Ras, knowing from experience that it would be useless to march against him, and being aware that if he did it would be the means of destroying the districts of innocent people who had been long suffering from the ravages of the locust, at length, after some hesitation, consented; and Guebra Guro was accordingly released, after having remained eighteen months a prisoner, during which period he had learned to read the Psalms of David, though previously he could not tell one letter from another.





### CHAPTER III.

The Ras marches against a Galla Chief—Surprise and Defeat of the Galla—Illness of Pearce—Justice of the Ras—Pearce becomes worse—Is visited secretly by the Ras—Pearce visits the Ras's brother, Ito Debbib—Stones with Arabic Inscriptions—Cry for the death of kings Yoas and Yonas—Lama—Rough Races—Review—Pearce is obliged by his malady to return home—His wife Tringo—Administration of the Sacrament—His recovery—Murder of the king of Shoa—Sacred Spring—Grand Review—The Sacred Snake—Military Manœuvres—Narrow Escape of Pearce and Coffin.

APRIL 5th. Just as the Ras had arrived at Chelicut, from Antàlo, and was feasting with many chiefs, news was brought from the villages of Derger Aggerzeen, the frontiers of the Galla, that Kecty, a powerful chief of that nation, had crossed the plain below them on his way to Was-sermer, for the purpose of cutting off the *arro*, or salt caravan.

The old Ras, on hearing this intelligence, never took another mouthful, but, jumping up immediately, called out the word, "*Churn!*" which signifies, "Saddle and be ready." I and Mr. Coffin instantly ran home, and were mounted and out, with some of our soldiers, as soon as the Ras himself; the rest of our men being absent on



leave. We were soon afterwards joined by some of the Ras's soldiers, and we acted the part of Fit-aurari in this inconsiderable division, riding on with all speed until sunset, when we stopped, that the Ras might have time to come up with us and give his orders. On his arrival, he directed us to go still forward, although it was quite dark, about which time we reached Armunteller; where, before day-light, a great number of men and women came to us, with bread, maize, &c. Many of the Enderta troops had also, by this time, joined us, together with Bashaw Dingerze of Tigré, who happened to arrive on business, and who expressed himself greatly concerned at the imprudence of the Ras, in venturing himself, with such a handful of men, against the Galla; on which the old man, looking at me and laughing, said, "See how frightened these Tigré fellows are at the Galla!" adding contemptuously to them, "Why, look at Pearce, who went down throughout Arrata by himself!"

After taking a little bread and maize, the day began to break; we were then upon the high mountain, covered with woods, exactly over Wassermmer; and the Ras immediately gave orders for every one to be as silent as possible, and not attempt to shoot or hunt the deer or game, with which the place abounds. After this caution, we



began to march down the mountain, and, in about half an hour, being clear of the woody part, and the sun just rising, we could see the Galla encamped below ; they had also observed us, and were soon mounted and at the foot of the mountain, before we could lead our horses down the rocks, which we did with great difficulty. During this time, several of the Ras's foot soldiers had descended, and were giving battle to the advanced foot of the Galla. At length, the cry of *Goverser Badinsah!* being heard in all quarters, as well as a loud volley of musketry, the Galla immediately became sensible of the Ras's presence, turned their horses to the plain, and rode off at full speed : scarcely any of our horses had got down in time, so that, after a three hours' chase, we could not come up with their horse ; but of the foot very few escaped. We remained at Wasserm until the *arro cofla* had passed, and then, after hunting hogs, &c., for two days, returned to Mucculla.

About this time I became very ill, from a complaint in my head, especially about the forehead ; for many months before I had felt pains in my eyes and forehead after much fatigue, but I now became so very unwell, that I was obliged to beg the Ras to let me go home. He said, that I had better remain with him, and that I might lie



quietly in his wife's house, close to his own, where he should be able to see me frequently. To this proposal I consented, and immediately sent for a Gojam Dofter, who professed great skill in medicine and charms. A swelling had by this time begun on the left side of my face, which gave me great pain, and the Dofter ordered me to eat nothing but goat's flesh. On hearing this, the Ras said, "Give Pearce every goat that is brought to me, either as a present or as a *gibbri*;" and, from this day forward, I received great numbers, which I always divided with Mr. Coffin.

While I lay sick, a dispute arose at Monsis between some Christian Zellans, (cowkeepers) and Taltals, concerning the boundaries of their grass on the mountain; in which one of the Taltals was killed, and the remainder, being subjects of the Ras, came with all speed to make their complaint. The Ras immediately sent out and had the offenders brought before him, when three were found guilty of the murder, and speared immediately by the relations of the deceased, at the Ras's gateway. This proceeding caused a great murmur amongst the priests, who said, it was too much to kill three Christians for one Mahometan. The old Ras, who was never known to do any thing barbarous or unbecoming, and was always a very merciful prince, replied "If I



had killed a hundred Mahometans for one Christian, you would have said *Edme heo kar*, [Long age to you] ; but that is not my law, for all that are concerned in murder ought to die." He added, " You have forgotten Ras Michael, to whom you dared not have spoken on such matters."

April 24th. [Baler Mariam]. The Ras marched for Chelicut, and ordered me to be carried on a couch before him, but I begged he would let me ride, as I could manage very well by being supported on both sides. By the time we reached Chelicut, the pain I felt became intolerable, and the swelling under the left eye and on the side of my nose became very large. I wished my attendant, the Dofter, to cut it, but he would not agree to this ; on which I sent for Mr. Coffin, who cut it in two places, but without affording me any relief. Friends and acquaintances from Antàlo and other parts, who had received intelligence of my malady, began to flock in, but the superstitious Dofter would not allow any one to see me, so that they were obliged to content themselves with enquiring only at the door. The good old Ras, in order to conceal his visits to me, used to set out as if going to the church to prayers, but, instead of doing so, he climbed over the high church-wall into my garden, and so entered my



apartment without being perceived. He did this at three different times, until I had become eased of my pain; which was at last effected by an operation performed by my own hands with a razor. A great quantity of blood flowed from the wound; and, with a little difficulty, I separated the large bone that formed the bridge of my nose.

When the Ras visited me, he used to sit by my side, pitying my fate and asking me repeatedly what I wanted, and persuading me to drink brandy to alleviate the pain. Of this liquor I had always great plenty, for the Ras himself never tasted any, and he had, for some months before, given me the privilege of receiving all that was sent to him, or made in his premises. I now began to get much better; and the Ras discharged my Dofter, who wanted to hang a string of charms about my neck and head, to which I would not consent. I can form no conjecture as to the origin of this disease, though it is very common in the country. A few days after the operation I was able to walk about, and soon gathered strength, but I still experienced shooting pains in my forehead, especially after meals.

At this period the Ras's brother, Ito Debbib, invited me to his town-house, at Woger Arreva, where he said I should soon recover my health; and he promised to shew me some curious stones,



like those at Axum, not far from his house, at a place called Quened; and, by permission of the Ras, I accompanied his brother to his residence.

Two days after our arrival at Woger Arreva, which is situated on the top of a mountain that forms the boundary of Enderta, in the Telfain, he took me to Quened, having several men with us with instruments for digging. Quened is a small village, on each side of a swamp, full of springs, which form themselves into a brook that runs into the river Dola. A vast number of willows, called in the country *queha*, whence it takes its name, grow in all parts of the swamp. Ito Debbib first shewed me all his gardens, which he employs priests to cultivate; and here I saw peaches, grapes, and other fruits, and, among the rest, some trees covered with white grapes, of which they take no care, but leave them as food for the birds, the priests holding white grapes in detestation; about which I had a long dispute with one of them, greatly to Ito's satisfaction.

He afterwards took me down to the plain below, and shewed me a large stone, about six feet by four, lying upon the ground. It appeared to me to have been formerly covered with an inscription, which, at a short distance, I could perceive more plainly than when I looked close at it. He also pointed out to me a spot



where lie two broken obelisks; they appeared never to have had any inscription upon them, and were very small. There were also several large stones, curiously cut, like those at Axum, lying about. Ito Debbib ordered his men to dig where, as he told me, the inhabitants had several times dug before, thinking to find treasure: the men soon turned up several stones, all about three feet long and a foot square, having inscriptions on them, which I imagined were Arabic. With Ito Debbib's consent, I sent a mule to Antàlo, to fetch Nuserella, a Greek, who could read that language. In almost every part in which they dug the labourers found the same kind of stones, and one was of an oval shape, and certainly had formed a part of some building. This stone had an inscription upon it that was neither Greek, Arabic, nor Ethiopic. There is no church at Queha, but there is a *moitrolloh*, or holy water, to which those afflicted with disease resort from far and near to bathe. It is kept by some monks, who obtain a good living from the patients who visit it. This place is about one mile and a half from Woger Arreva, on the Felleg-darro road, and about ten miles from Muntella, where, I have been told, there are other ruins buried; which, though I have often searched for, I never could find.



After Ito Debbib had shewn me all that he deemed curious, we returned to the town, where he shewed me great kindness, though two years before this he was my greatest enemy; indeed, he was one who wanted to kill me, and make Mr. Salt and his followers prisoners. The next day Nuserella arrived, and, before we took our first meal, we rode out to Queha. Nuserella looked at the inscriptions, which were as plain as if just engraved, and began to read, *Bismilla erock-marne eurockiem*—"Stop, stop!" cried Ito Debbib, "that is enough!" and the thought of its being Mahometan made him order the place to be filled up with earth immediately, expressing, as we rode home, some doubts about Nuserella's religion, and believing him to be no Christian, because he could read Arabic, or, as he called it, Salam.

After this, I remained several days with him, during which time I went with him down the mountain of Muntella, into the territories of the Telfain, to watch the motions of the Galla at Sheekot, while the *arro* passed Wasserner in safety. On our return, a messenger met us from the Ras, to acquaint Ito Debbib that he wished him to attend the cry for the deaths of the late kings, Yoas and Yonas, the news of which had just arrived. Accordingly, instead of going to



Woger Arreva, we repaired with all speed to Antàlo, where we found the Ras and the country-people assembled at the cry, in the market-place. Yoas died in Gondar, and Yonas died a few days before him in Gojam; both very poor, without leaving sufficient even to purchase a coffin to receive their remains, or money enough for *fettart* or *toscar*.

June 10th. After remaining three days at Antàlo, the period usually allotted for the cry, the Ras went to Lama, on the frontier of the Galla, to thatch a church, that had been built by his orders, against the ensuing rains. I still found myself ill in my head, but did not like to ask permission to remain behind, knowing how much the Ras wished me to be near him wherever he went.

At Lama we remained until the beginning of July, the Ras being always employed in riding about from place to place, no other person being seen on horseback except me and Mr. Coffin; every other horseman, gunner, or even officer, being kept hard at work by the old gentleman, in clearing the wood and bushes from a piece of land that he had ordered to be cultivated; there were also about five hundred ploughmen kept at work, ploughing and sowing; and he also ordered vines to be planted, in several places where he thought them most secure from the cold.



During the time we remained in this beautiful place, though I found myself very ill, the Ras kept me alive by obliging me and Mr. Coffin to ride races with him over the ploughed ground, more than ten times a day; and, when he thought that our own horses had had enough, he would make us mount others of his stud, and so keep us at it all day, and the rest of his people at labour, except when the rain came on and drove us to our tents.

I often observed the chiefs whom we had at work watch an opportunity to lay themselves down to sleep, or get to some quiet corner where they could play at chess; while we, from being more favoured by the Ras, were never able to escape from his sight. There was no other tent pitched, but the one occupied by me and Mr. Coffin: the Ras having thought fit to have a *goja* made for himself, and thatched like those of the rest of his chiefs. Ours, being an English tent, sheltered us tolerably well; though we were all of us, and especially myself, heartily glad when a messenger arrived to inform the Ras that the army from Walkayt had just succeeded in crossing the Tacazzé, without losing a soul, notwithstanding it had begun to rise, and that it would be at Gambela in three days. On receiving this intelligence, the Ras gave orders to the chiefs,



whom he left in charge to superintend the business that was to be done at Lama, and the next day we set out for Mucculla; where, after amusing ourselves on the road with hunting for guinea-fowl and partridges, we arrived in the evening.

I remained at Mucculla with the Ras until he had reviewed his newly arrived troops, and received the usual trophies, which did not exceed sixty-three in number; this seemed to dissatisfy the old man, though there were about one thousand prisoners. Among the men of rank taken were Asgas Sedit, Ito Batri Ola, and among the Ozoros of rank, Ozoro Gumbur, and Ozoro Wover, the latter being the kept-mistress of Gusmarsh Hilier Mariam, and the other, Ozoro Gumbur, having ventured to accompany her cousin, the Gusmarsh, to see him beat the Tigré dandies, as she called them, meaning something like dolts or asses in our English tongue; with these there came a large train of young women. The Ras, on this occasion, permitted every one to do as he pleased with his prisoners, when some kept them as servants, and others parted with them for a mule a head.

After this review I went to the Ras, and told him that I was becoming too ill to go about without very great pain, and that even my appetite had begun to fail: At first he tried to persuade



me to sleep in his wife's house, and to send for Tringo, my wife, to attend me ; but, having convinced him that I should be much better in my own house, he at last consented to my leaving him ; and I returned home and kept my bed. There I remained nearly a month, while Tringo tried all sorts of herbs, roots, &c., after her country fashion, to cure me ; four pieces of very thin white bone came from the roof of my mouth, and twelve pieces and all the gristle from my nose ; I also became for a time lock-jawed, so that, to keep me alive, Tringo used to pour a thin kind of nourishment, called *asmitt*, down my throat, through a small reed. Numbers of my acquaintance came to see me, and, in spite of the superstition of my neighbours, I advised them all to enter ; and they would sit and talk to me, though I could not, for many days, answer. They frequently made me uneasy by their crying, in their country fashion, as if I had really been dead. By the Ras's orders, and at my request, Allicar Barhe, and all the priests of the Trinity Church, and Mariam Guddervitee, attended upon me, to administer the holy sacrament for the last time, or, as they termed it, to a *mungardiweger* [one about to depart.] Though very weak, and not able to utter a word, yet I could, by this time, open my mouth a little, owing to the relief I had



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experienced from Tringo's poultices of herbs, &c. ; and I retained my senses and memory as perfectly as if I had been in the best bodily health.

The ceremony of administering the sacrament was performed as follows : early in the morning, the head priest, Allicar Barhe, and my own priest, Guebra Mariam, came to demand my last confession. I could not answer them to be understood, but, through Tringo, I made signs that satisfied him, or them. They first asked me my christian name, and whether I had received the holy sacrament on my baptism day ; and bade me now take it, as a cleansing from all sins past, and to consider it as a physic for the soul, that Jesus Christ had in his tender mercy bestowed on me, to cure and save it from everlasting perdition. They required of me, in case my soul should not depart from me at this present moment, through God's mercy, to abstain from all sins hereafter, to have no other wife than the one I had, to turn monk, and to give two thousand pieces of salt to the poor. My will was then made, in favour of my wife, my priest, slaves, and servants, leaving to each such portion of my property as I thought right ; and, when all this was settled, the church carpets were brought in, and spread on the ground, and I was ordered to



be dressed in a cloth that had never been defiled, and to be laid on a clean carpet. Shortly afterwards the priests came in, singing hymns, and dressed in their holy apparel, and I received the sacrament from a priest, who first gave me a cross to kiss ; after which they said some long prayer, and departed.

When all this was over I felt quite easy, except that I was now and then troubled with the cries kept up at the door by my acquaintance, who had assembled in great numbers to do me honour ; indeed, the whole ceremony was carried on as if I had been the king himself. Instead of dying, as all expected, I soon began to get better, and the priest, who frequently visited me, did not forget to hint to me what physic the holy sacrament was, both for the body and soul ; and I also considered, but said nothing, that, as I had two thousand pieces of salt to pay for it, the physic was rather dear, the value amounting to full sixty-six dollars. In the beginning of August, I could again walk about the house.

The Ras this year kept at Chelicut his fast for the Blessed Virgin, which commences on the 1st of August, or Narsa, and ends on the sixteenth. During this fast, the old man, like many others, always slept upon the ground.



About this time, messengers from Gondar arrived, who had crossed the Tacazzé on *onguors*, or rafts, with the *messerach*, or good tidings, from Ras Guxo, that his general, Ito Woldi Raphael, had defeated Munet Guarlu, of Gojam, who had rebelled; and it was supposed that Guarlu was killed, as he had not been heard of since the battle. Both Woldi Raphaël and Guarlu were Guxo's sons-in-law. It is frequently the case in Abyssinia, that, if a soldier kills a chief, merely for the usual trophy, he does not own he did so, on account of the danger he is likely to incur from the chief's relations.

News was also brought of the death of the king, Wosen Segued of Shoa: the messenger who brought this intelligence had been detained some time by Liban, on suspicion of his being sent to Gojee, who was still at enmity with him. The king, Wosen Segued, was assassinated by one of his slaves. He had gone into one of the apartments to sleep with his wife, which, like the apartments common in all Abyssinia, was a small, round, thatched house, built behind his own house or hall; the doorway being in general low, the thatch very thick, and easily kindled with the smallest spark. The slave set fire to the thatch while the king and queen were asleep; but, being soon awakened, the king rose and dragged the



queen through the flames without sustaining much injury, when the slave stabbed the king in the ribs, and he fell immediately. The queen's screams were soon heard in all parts of the premises ; the king survived a few days, and the slave confessed that some chiefs, who were then prisoners in irons, had promised to make a great man of him, besides giving him some gold in hand, if he would kill the king. The king, before he died, placed his son Woldi Sarvir, afterwards Sarlu Selassé, on the throne, and he revenged himself upon the chiefs for his father's death. This happened in June, 1813 ; Sarlu Selassé, like his father, became friends with the Ras, sending and receiving presents.

Mascarram, or September 1st, Kudus Yohannis (or St. John) is the first day in the year. During the five days of Pogme, which are after the last days of August, I had been advised to go into the river to bathe, and I found myself quite recovered. It is customary for all people to wash themselves in the rivers, on the third day of the five of Pogme, which is the holy-day of Kudus Raphael, and is as strictly observed as the eleventh of Tur, or January, which is Christ's baptism. The Ras had gone to Mucculla, to keep his new year's day, where he remained until the 11th, purposely to receive a great number of his chiefs, who



attended him to church. This holy-day, the 11th of September, is held in veneration on account of an old monk, called Abba Annernier, who fought, about three hundred years ago, against the Galla, and was killed in battle on the spot where he is now revered. It is said that he turned into a snake, which is constantly to be seen.

This sacred spot is about a mile and a half from Mucculla, in the plain of Gambela. There is no church, but a spring of water, called *moitrolloh* (holy water) whither thousands flock, to be cured of their diseases. I have indeed known people come from Adowa and Gondar, to procure a little of the sacred earth from this spot, which is sewed up as a charm, and worn about a person afflicted with diseases. Round the spring large stones are piled up like a wall, and two large trees grow very near it, being the only trees or bushes for many hundred yards round. Determined to look closer into the superstitious notions attached to this spot, I got up one morning, under the pretence of going to bathe, but I dared not take any of my servants with me, for fear of their prejudices, and therefore told them to take my horses and mules to a place where they might eat some young grass, while I went to wash myself. I then went, just as the sun



had risen, and lifted up some of the stones, in doing which I saw four or five snakes, small and large, which ran immediately under the stones beneath; I afterwards replaced the stones, as they had been left there by the priests, for the snakes to drink out of, and returned to my servants, perfectly satisfied of the folly of those ignorant people; though I said nothing at the time, I had, before a month was out, strong reasons for breaking my silence, as will subsequently appear.

September 4th. Finding myself quite well, I went to the Ras at Mucculla; numbers of people had already begun to arrive, not only to visit the sacred place of Abba Annernier, but also to see how matters would go on at Antàlo, the 17th of this month being Mascal, when the yearly income is received, and every chief, with his troops, is reviewed: to such as the Ras thinks fit he gives preferment, while those he is displeased with are put back or dismissed from office, which seldom happens; however, every one of the higher rank strives to outdo his neighbour in the discipline and splendid appearance of himself and his troops.

September 11th. Being the aforesaid holiday, we began after sunrise to descend the hill of Mucculla, at the foot of which were waiting a



great number of horsemen, and, as soon as we had reached the plain, I and Mr. Coffin mounted our horses and joined with the rest in sham-fights, though very few liked to sport with us at close quarters, as the report of our pistols and blunderbusses often put their horses into confusion and made them ungovernable. Proceeding in this manner, we shortly arrived at the sacred place, where a *dass* was built with the boughs of trees and marshella stakes. Here we did not find the priests going on in their usual noisy way of singing, but were surprised to see them dragging along a poor Amhara priest, as if they meant to kill him instantly. He was brought before the Ras, and the priests called out that he had killed the *sardoc*, or saint. On inquiry, it appeared that this poor fellow, being a traveller from the Amhara, on his road to Axum, had seen the snake as he was washing in the sacred water, and had crushed the head with a stone, after which he called to the people near, and told them that he had killed a snake, when, to his utter astonishment, he was seized, and the priests insisted that he should be instantly put to death; but the tender old Ras, who did not like to take life, said, "Perhaps the poor man may be mad, we will chain him, and see if he is in his right senses;" which enraged the priests beyond mea-



sure. They swore they would have his blood spilt on the spot. I could not keep silence any longer, and stood up and said, "Ber Welled Selassé, hear me," and from that moment not a syllable was uttered until I had finished my story. I then related that, some months before, I happened to come to wash myself at this place in order to cure a complaint in my thigh, and I saw four or five snakes, among which, I added (thinking to help the poor man) was one larger than that which had been killed, and hence I supposed they had come from some distance for water, and that the snake, now dead, might probably from a similar cause have wandered to the spot. The Ras, upon my saying this, insisted that the wall should be well looked into, and, on the removal of the first stone, a snake was discovered between the stones near the same place, where the sacred reptile used to have water put before him. This statement immediately created great joy, and the prisoner was released, though severely reprimanded, and punished with a few smart stripes from the whip of one of the Ras's soldiers.

The service then proceeded as usual. A large quantity of frankincense was burnt at a small distance from the wall in which the snake was, and the altar was brought, according to the yearly



custom, from the church Yasous, on the hill of Mucculla, and the sacrament administered to those who wished to receive it. After the service, the Ras mounted his horse, and we all rode over the plains in the usual confused manner, it seldom happening on such occasions that several persons are not killed. I felt extremely happy that I had been, on this occasion, the means of saving an innocent man's life, though I had not dared to explain the whole extent of my discovery respecting the snakes.

September 12th. We went to Chelicut, where some Galla chiefs had arrived with a number of *sangas*, and the Ras gave me my choice of them, in exchange for my Mascal cow, I and Mr. Coffin being allowed a cow every month, as a standing order, and, when on service, one every three days. We had as many sheep as we wished for, and I have before said all the goats brought were mine\*.

\* It appears, from the above statement, that Pearce has dealt somewhat hardly with the Ras, in speaking of him as the most *miserly* of human beings, since, besides the allowances mentioned in this place, he was entitled to a large and regular supply of salt, and to all the brandy made on the Ras's premises, to say nothing of occasional presents. The truth, probably, is that the Ras, from long and difficult experience, had learned, like Elizabeth of England and Frederick of Prussia, that money forms the sinews of war, and therefore abstained from the reckless waste and profusion in which most of his contemporary chiefs indulged.  
—Editor.



September 14th. We went to Antàlo, I and Mr. Coffin taking with us every soldier, servant, or boy, that we could muster, dressed in the best attire we could procure for them, with new accoutrements for our horses and mules; and on the 16th the part of the army to which we were in general attached was reviewed: we joined them, dressed in English military uniforms which Mr. Salt had left us. All eyes were fixed upon us, and, being with the horse of Enderta, we were reviewed before the Tigré matchlock-men, who were about five thousand, commanded by Bashaw Gabriott. After we had gone through the usual fantastic manœuvres, and were riding out of the court, the musket-men began to fire before we had entirely passed them—a circumstance that we had always been cautious of at other times, but which to-day we happened to neglect. The consequence was, that we had one man killed, and Mr. Coffin's horse being shot through the hind-leg, he was obliged to make his escape on foot. These accidents happen every Mascal, on account of the greater number of the gunners having their muskets previously loaded with iron shot, and, having no means of drawing the charge, they, rather than be at the loss of one round of powder, will fire in this random manner, for it is to be observed that every soldier in Abyssinia



finds his own powder. I persuaded the Ras to issue an order, that no one in future should fire after he entered the market-place, but that this part of the ceremony should be gone through at Ouner Takley Himanute, the place where they first assemble\*.

After the review was over we took leave of the Ras and followed our people, who had taken the body of the dead man, by my desire, to Chelicut, to be buried there; and, having given the priest a small sum for a *fettart* for our poor servant, we again set out for Antàlo, to see the remainder of the review. It lasted three days; Enderta and the neighbouring districts as far as Agamé were reviewed the first day, and they brought in their cattle. The Ras is always seated on these occasions upon a high gallery to receive the income, and at some distance from him are seated his secretaries, who write an account of the cattle, clothes, &c., that are brought into the court by the servants of the chiefs to whom they belong; after which, the chiefs themselves appear at the head of the

\* From what I have learned from Mr. Coffin, there appears to be very little doubt that this apparent accident originated in the ill-will and treachery of some of the chiefs, who were dissatisfied with the marked attention and distinction with which the Ras treated our two countrymen. Indeed, the Ras seemed to suspect as much himself.—*Editor*.



troops of the respective districts, displaying their prowess in a manner that to any European would appear barbarous, at the same time making an extremely warlike show, notwithstanding their want of discipline.

Tigré was reviewed on the second day, with the neighbouring districts as far as Ammerseem, Wojjerat, and Agow. On the third day Guxo reviews his troops, &c., in the same manner at Deverertavor, his capital, in Begemder; Ackly Marro at Gondar, Ras Guebra at Inchetkaub, and Ras Ilo at Socotta. In every province, indeed, throughout Abyssinia, this custom is observed on the seventeenth day of Mascarram, called Mascal, or the feast of the holy cross. At the close of the first day's review, the high-priests of the different churches appear in the court, carrying large crosses, and singing, rather than saying, the first chapter of Habbakuk.



## CHAPTER IV.

Death of the deposed king Itsa Ischias—Proceedings in a case of Murder—Execution—Escape of the Culprit—Law relative to Murder—March of the Army from Chelicut—Hikeer Mussal—Dacer—Aspect of the Country—The Aggerzeen, a species of Deer—Return to Chelicut—King Tecla Gorgis entreats the Ras to march to Gondar—Entertainment of the Ras, when on march, by the Chiefs—Mr. Coffin stung by a Scorpion—Feast at Moi Agenzean—Entry of the Ras into Axum—Meeting of Tecla Gorgis and the Ras—Ozoro Dinkernagh—Ozoro Duster—Wells—Gold Coins found at Axum—Giddams, or Sanctuaries—Customs respecting Visitors and Travellers—Interview with the king—Entertainment given to the Ras by Ozoro Duster—The King-Snake—Meeting at the Church—The Crying Cross—Picture of the Virgin Mary.

AFTER the review was over, I remained at Antàlo with the Ras, until Abba Garorr, October 5th, when I went to Chelicut, the Ras coming on the following day, with the intention of passing some months in comfort, there being no rumour of war. The death of the deposed king Itsa Ischias, father of Itsa Guarlu, the present king, was announced about this time. He died on September 13th, 1813; the Ras kept only one day's cry for him, though he was his father-in-law, through his late wife Ozoro Mantwaub. The Ras, after remaining nearly a month at Chelicut quite



undisturbed, began to feel inaction tiresome, and therefore determined to build a new church at Comfu, a short distance from Chelicut. Accordingly, the drum was beat in the market-place of Antàlo, for all Enderta and the adjoining districts to be ready to march to Dacer, every man bringing with him a rope and an axe, on the following Thursday.

The day before we left Chelicut, a woman had brought in chains a poor miserable object, whom she accused of having killed her husband; the witnesses also arrived from the small village of Gibba, to which they belonged. When the Ras had heard the whole story and examined the witnesses, he found the man guilty of murder, though apparently without malice, and told the woman, agreeably to the law, to do as she pleased with him. She replied, "I have no one but myself; I have no relation; neither have I a spear or knife." The Ras said, "Then you must hang him." She again replied, "How can I do that by myself? I have got a *mushcharn*, [a leather rope] it is true, but I cannot hang him alone." The Ras then ordered some of the groom-boys about the house to assist her in hanging the man to the darro-tree, on the green before the house. "God preserve you a thousand years!" said the woman, adding, in an under-tone, "His relations



are all here, and they will not have far to carry his body, as he belongs to the church." Mariam Guddervitee Takly, one of the Ras's stable-grooms, and some other of the slaves, had the management of the affair. When they came to the darro-tree, which is as easily climbed as a ladder, they helped the woman up with one end of the *mushcharn* in her hand, shewing her which was the best bough to tie it to. Takly, notwithstanding the woman had promised to give him plenty of butter for his trouble, now put the poor object's two hands within the *mushcharn*, round the neck, and, after tying it, ordered the woman to draw up the *mushcharn*, while they would lift him from off the large stone they had made him stand upon. Accordingly, she did this, and made it well fast, and then came down to behold him hanging, at the same time exclaiming, "Blessed be Mary Ann, the mother of God, who has given me revenge for my husband! bad as he was, I have stood true to him." After he had hung for some time, the crowd that stood to look on cried often to her, "Why woman, he has been dead long ago!" "Thank God for that!" said she, "but they shall not have my *mushcharn* to bury with him." Accordingly, she, with the help of Takly, climbed up the tree and loosed the *mushcharn*, while Takly took it from



his neck. The relations immediately came to take up the body, which they were allowed to do; but, before they had got ten yards, the dead man set off, without being carried, and ran into the Trinity church-yard, where he was safe, even though he had killed a thousand persons. The woman, seeing this, was enraged and ran to the Ras's gateway crying, "*Abbate, Abbate!*" She obtained admittance, and told the Ras that the man had not been hung long enough; the Ras, who had already heard the story, laughed and said to the woman, "Would you wish to kill a man that God will not permit to die? He hung long enough to have killed a cat." She answered, "Let me have him up again, and I will pull at his legs till I break his neck." "You foolish woman!" replied the Ras, "would you oppose the will of God?" Seeing that the old Ras looked grave when he said this, she believed it was God's will that the man should not die, and her spirit failed her, as she said, in a very low and sorrowful tone, "Though he is such an ill-formed creature, I have seen him do things that nobody else could do. The locust never touched the little corn he had behind his house; and though we used to make a fire to smoke them away we could not save ours as he did." She immediately went to the church and begged his



forgiveness, and they afterwards lived good neighbours as usual ; indeed, I heard subsequently that he became her husband.

The law in Abyssinia stands thus in cases of murder : after the fact has been proved before the chief, he passes the sentence of death ; when, should the deceased party have no other relation but a female, though she may have a husband, friends, or other connections, yet she, being nearest related to him, must strike the first blow, either with a spear or with a knife, when her acquaintances dispatch him immediately. Without the formality of her striking the first blow, the friends and relations of the woman would be reckoned by the offender's relations to have spilt their blood without just cause. As soon as the sentence of death has been passed, the deceased's family may, if it be agreed upon, take cattle in lieu of the murderer's life ; one hundred head of cattle being the customary redeeming price. When the offender is put to death, the relations bury his body in the church, which is permitted by the laws ; but those who kill themselves are not allowed this privilege of interment within the church-wall. If a chief insists upon a party taking an equivalent for life, he can do so ; but then, whatever fine is agreed upon must be paid in the presence of the Shummergildas. This law passed



in the reign of Tarlack Yasous, the king, and was again proclaimed by Ras Michael Suhul, and afterwards repeated by Ras Welled Selassé.

November 12th. We left Chelicut, when the Ras had risen from his sleep after dinner, and encamped in the evening at Hiker Helleta, a rich plain, abounding in marshes and small streams, which supply the little river of Chelicut, and those rivers that run through Gambela, a fine part of the country, but always haunted by the Galla. Next morning we marched to the Dola, a stream which empties itself into the river Gibba, and rises in Derva, another long marshy valley. Thence we went to Hiker Mussal, where we encamped upon the bank of the river Argulta, which rises at the mountain of Dacer from many springs; here we remained until all our woodcutters had arrived. Hiker Mussal is a very large town, inhabited by brave Christians, who defend their district against the Galla and Telfain. We next passed to the town of Dacer, which, like all others upon the frontiers of the Galla and Taltal, is built as close as the houses can possibly be placed to each other, with a high wall round the whole. There is a great square in the middle, large enough to hold all their cattle; the houses have all flat tops, within the walls, to which they adjoin; and the inhabitants get upon them to



defend themselves when attacked by the Taltal : there is but one gate of entrance to the town. The Galla seldom come thus far north, though the Taltals sneak about and kill many, such as boys looking after cattle, or people employed in the field.

About two hours after we had passed the town, we ascended into some woods of fine large firs and *houles*, the latter much resembling the olive. In this spot the Ras pitched his tent, in the snug-gest place he could pick out, towards the thickest part of the wood, and we made our *gojas* as close together as possible, that our fires might be the closer to each other, and create the more heat ; for, before the sun went down, we began to feel the cold, and, ere midnight, I was glad to get close to the fire, with two large cloths over me. In the morning, our sensations and the resemblance this spot bore to our native country naturally led us to discourse of home. Every tree was covered with a crispish frost, and, as the sun rose, the earth began to steam like a vast boiler. We went to the Ras's tent, and found him lying and talking to the slaves, rolled up in three cloths and a *burnuse*, with a large fire before him, and his head covered up. After bidding him good morrow, we were ordered to sit down, and he began asking us how cold it was in our own country, but never got from under his cloths. When we told him that the



water there froze so hard that we could drive cattle over the rivers, he seemed scarcely to believe us, and said, in a low tone, from under his thick covering, "I had rather you should live there than I." We sat, telling him stories of other parts of the world ; but I could not produce any one interesting enough to induce him to put his head from under cover ; until, about two hours after the sun was up, he took a short peep and said, "Kill the cow ; we must eat before we go to work." The cow was accordingly dispatched, and he got up and buckled on his knife, and, after eating some *brindo* without bread, and drinking a horn or two of maize, he called all the chiefs in turn, and, knowing the strength of their respective districts, tasked them as he thought proper ; ordering every one to fell so many trees, take the bark off, and bring them before his tent by sunset. I, having the command of his own household, was directed with my party to fell the long young firs, not larger than my arm, for roofing under the thatch, and, with little difficulty, we cut more than a thousand the first day.

From this place the view to the eastward, when clear of the woods, appears like a bluish misty sea, and forms the most dismal prospect I ever beheld ; for, let the day be ever so clear, you can see nothing at this time of the year but vast masses



of clouds below you; though it may possibly be different at other seasons. To the westward are seen all the green valleys and plains throughout the country, and the mountains of Samen are distinctly visible. The woods in this place are about four miles in width, extending east and west, and in length several days' journey north and south. The *aggerzeen*, a large kind of deer, is very numerous here, and the warmth of our camp had enticed numbers to approach us, as they are not afraid of fire, like the generality of other wild animals. One morning, a fine large buck was found among the Ras's cows, and soon speared by the soldiers, who, according to custom, brought the hind-quarters to the Ras, by whom they were given to me. I sent the skin and the horns of this beautifully shaped creature, together with a sketch and the skins of some curious wild beasts, to Mr. Salt, in the year 1813.

December 10th. We quitted our camp, and marched for Chelicut by the same road we came, and the first night reached Barkie, where we slept at the premises of Ito Dimsu, the Ras's nephew; we were not more than fifty in number, every body else being ordered to carry, or assist in carrying, the timber to Comfu, near Chelicut.

The second day we arrived at Chelicut; where, at dinner time, the Ras observed to me, just as he



had taken a draught of maize, "One can take a good drink here, without making the teeth ache ; but at Dacer every mouthful gave one pain." The chiefs arrived with part of the timber, at the place enjoined, in five days, though some of the heavy trees did not arrive till ten days afterwards, every thing being done by main strength alone, without the smallest assistance from any mechanical contrivance.

December 25th. Palambarus Guebra Selassé arrived from the king Tecla Gorgis. The message he brought was to intreat the Ras, now the king's son-in-law, to march by way of Walkayt to Gondar, and once more place Tecla Gorgis upon the throne. Asgas Sedit also arrived with a message to the same effect ; but the Ras would not agree to these measures, unless the king would first quiet Waldubba and come to Axum, where he promised to wait upon him and make such arrangements as they might think fit upon the subject. Messengers had been privately sent backward and forward for some months before upon this business, but the Ras was unwilling to trust Tecla, with whose character he was well acquainted. Christmas-day falling upon the 29th of December, in Abyssinia, the Ras detained the different messengers to keep their feast with him, and then gave them leave to depart.



January 10th, 1814. News was brought by Palambarus Toclus's servant, whom the Ras had ordered to prepare at Axum for the reception of the king Tecla Gorgis, that he had crossed the Tacazzé, and was expected daily at Axum. The Ras, on receiving this intelligence, quitted Antàlo, where he had spent his Christmas, and returned to Chelicut; but, instead of holding the Tumkut review of his troops, which takes place on the 11th of January, he ordered them to be ready to march with all speed to meet the king at Axum.

January 12th. Notwithstanding its being the holyday, Kudus Michael, we left Chelicut, and marched to Alarsa, where we were entertained by Shum Giralta Toclus; next day we marched to Gullybudda, where we were provided for, in a large *dass*, made by the sons of Palambarus Toclus, but not so magnificently as by Shum Giralta Toclus, the quantity of whose bread, meat, and maize, almost exceeded credibility. Whenever the Ras is upon a march in his own dominions, every chief tries to outdo his neighbours in the quality of the cattle, bread, maize, and *sowa*, they prepare for him. Should the Ras be displeased with the manner of his reception, he either demands a fine from the chief, or displaces him altogether, and puts another in his stead; though the last must be a relation of the former, who has



a right by birth to become governor of the district.

January 14th. We left Gullybudda and marched to the river Warie, where we were supplied by several petty chiefs, at the head of whom was Ito Assemmant. In this place we also found a large *dass* built, and a platform made of clay and stones, with clay for a table about fourteen yards long, first covered with wild mint and rushes, on which bread and cooked victuals were piled in abundance: five cows were ready killed, and ten more were presented to the Ras. Maize and *sowa* were also handed round in large quantities.

On the 15th, we marched to Zonger, where we were provided for by the Gas Ischias, and the sons of the Cannasmash Ilow from Abba Tzana. Here the abundance surpassed all that we had seen before, and my tent was so full of bread, meat, maize, and *sowa*, though our people had continued feasting till midnight, that I and Mr. Coffin were obliged to sleep outside with our domestics. During the night a scorpion stung Mr. Coffin on the elbow; it had come from a stone, upon which he had placed his head by way of pillow. One of our people immediately cut the wounded part with a razor, to let the blood out, but still it gave him great pain for more than an hour after.



On the 16th, we marched to Moi Agenzean, where we were entertained by the sons of the Nebrid Alfiers and Aram. Nebrid Aram killed Nebrid Alfiers in 1807, and from that time the parties have been at enmity, though always kept quiet by the power of the Ras, who had forced them to be reconciled. The *dass* here was built by the above parties, each occupying one side; being both determined either to outdo one another or lose the last scrap in their possession. One side of the platform, which they had built for a table, having become one pile of loaves higher than the other, the opposite party immediately brought their own side to a level with it; while the girls, who brought in the cooked victuals, in the same manner, entered the *dass* in distinct parties. The Ras viewed this for some time smilingly, and at last told them that there was abundance, and more than would be that day consumed; adding that he was equally satisfied with both parties, which at once settled the business, and the plentiful feast began. It is always, by the by, a lucky chance both for officers and soldiers, when encamped in a district where there are parties in opposition.

On the 17th, very early in the morning, the Ras called me, to say that he meant to enter Axum on his favourite Bulla; not from any re-



spect to the king, but in honour of the Blessed Virgin, to whom the church at Axum is dedicated. He also desired me and Mr. Coffin to have plenty of powder, with our arms, and to ride close to him, one on each side ; orders were then given for every horseman to have his horse saddled, it being a common custom in Abyssinia, with the lower sort of *wotada* [soldiers] to have one saddle only, which serves both for mule and horse, the latter being never mounted, except in battle or on private occasions. In the provinces east of the Tacazzé no one rides horses on a march, as they are led before the owner while he journeys on his mule ; but in Gojam and Edjow they frequently travel on horseback when marching with the army.

We broke up our encampment, and marched towards Axum, over the extensive plain Attsowa. As soon as we came within sight of the town, the Ras got off his mule and mounted Bulla, every chief and horseman following his example. The chiefs were directed to keep their horses about six yards in the rear, where they formed one close body, while the old gentleman made me ride on his right, with our thighs nearly touching, and Mr. Coffin on his left ; on firing our large blunderbusses, well loaded, the horses began to get warm, which greatly pleased the old man.



Having at his desire loaded and fired both our blunderbusses and pistols several times, great confusion was created among the chiefs in our rear, who were in a body consisting of one hundred and fifty, about six yards behind us, followed by six hundred *wotada*, whose spirited horses, not being used to fire-arms, became ungovernable. The horse of Ito Nockindis, a relation of the Ras, taking fright and plunging violently, fell down, broke its saddle, and hurt the young chief so much that he was obliged to be carried home to his country; but the Ras, still in high glee and never thinking of his relation, now and then said to me, in a low tone, "Put in plenty of powder: put in three or four cartridges; your arms are strong enough to hold a *mudfar*." Our horses pranced, as they galloped towards the king's tent, or *dass*, in the wildest manner, which quite delighted the old Ras, who rides better than any young man in his country, though age will not now permit him to indulge often in an exercise for which he had been remarkable in his younger days.

The king Tecla Gorgis had his tent pitched within the large *dass*, that had been erected for his reception, on the south side of the church-wall, which fronts the whole plain. He had ordered the front of his tent and *dass* to be left open, in



order that he might have a clear view of the Ras and his troops, and we were afterwards informed he was so much delighted on seeing me and Mr. Coffin in regimentals, firing while the horses were plunging furiously, that he stood up on his sofa to have a better view of us, exclaiming *Marlikteinge, Sonshivelem*, [They are angels, not mortals]. The moment we approached the entrance of the *dass*, which was crowded by multitudes of people, on each side, we sprang from our horses, the Ras very nimbly throwing his cloth round his waist, in order that his breast might be bare. On entering, he placed his hand upon mine, and I went into the *dass* with him, but as we approached the king, who was seated upon sofa in his tent, with a *munderger* [grate of fire] before him, and his attendants neatly dressed, and standing in their respective stations, the Ras let go my hand, and bowed with his forehead to the ground, remaining in that position about half a minute, when he rose and approached the king, taking a half-wheel round the inside of the *dass*, where, after standing about a minute, it was intimated to him to sit down, by a nod from the king, who, until he was seated, did not speak a word. The Ras made another low bow, and sat down upon a carpet spread for his reception. The king first broke silence by asking the Ras how he



did, and where he had got another gipsy, meaning Mr. Coffin, as he knew me before. Mr. Coffin had not yet entered the *dass*, but the king desired that he should be admitted; when the Ras informed him of the whole of Mr. Salt's mission, and of the presents he had brought for Itsa Guarlu. While the story was relating, the king said, "Stop, I must have the whole from Pearce," adding, "I know the Feringees are not dandies" [silly-people] "but very cunning fellows." Gusho, a Balermal, who stood upon his right hand, on receiving a sign from the king, came and whispered in my ear that I and Mr. Coffin should sit down. We remained seated some time before any of the chiefs were allowed admittance; but, at last, upon a whisper from the king to the Balermal Comfu, who stood upon his left hand, he went to the entrance of the *dass*, and ordered the Gusmati Ischias, Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, Palambarus Wonderfrash, and Aszas Guebra Selassé, to advance and sit down. They obeyed the order with alacrity, made their bows, and seated themselves upon a carpet below that of the Ras, while perfect silence prevailed during a few moments, till the king began to make remarks on the Ras's horsemanship, the activity of his horsemen in general, and their discipline, as he termed what a European would have called madness.



The king paid the Ras many compliments, and among other things said, "Welled Selassé, you ride as well and as light, and appear as young as you did in the time of Ras Michael. How came you by that beautiful Bulla horse?" The Ras replied, "I had him given me by the Gusmarsh Zonde, about four years ago, when it was very young." "What have you done with your old favourite Shummet?" said the king. The Ras replied, "I have given him to Toclu, having now grown old."—"What, does not Toclu want a young horse?" replied the king. Palambarus Toclu, who stood at a distance, with the other chiefs, who were waiting upon the Ras, began to smile, knowing what would follow. "I think an old horse suits him best," said the Ras. "Why?" said the king, "has he got the *curtermart* [rheumatism]?" "No, Ganvar\*," said the Ras, "he has not got the *curtermart*, but a young horse is apt to give it him:" on which a laugh was set up throughout the whole *dass*. Palambarus Toclu, though somewhat displeased, affected to laugh also; he not only being noted for a bad horseman, but as ranking nearly first among the cowards of Abyssinia; though, in spite of these great defects in a soldier or chief, he commanded the largest

\* The title of the king.



district in the Ras's dominions. Indeed, it is the policy of the Abyssinian rulers, to prefer their cowardly chiefs before others, being less fearful of their rebelling. After all, Palambarus declared himself much gratified by the Ras giving him Shummet; that horse he valued more than any in his possession, the Ras having never permitted any one but himself to ride him, till he presented him to Mr. Salt, to carry him from Chelicut to Antalo, in 1810, which was regarded by every body at the time as a most unusual mark of favour. The joke being ended, the company was dismissed, except the Ras, who had a short private conversation before he left the king.

The Ras then visited the church, where, in the front of the great gates, the priest had assembled. All the carpets belonging to the church were spread out, and the priests, dressed in their holy and richest robes and crowns, were singing a hymn, throwing themselves into the wildest postures, as is customary on such occasions. This hymn, at the close of every verse, ended with *Welled le Selassé Woldi Kefla Yasousha hile hu yer Yasous Christoshu*—[Son of the Trinity, son of Jesus's follower, his strength is in Christ Jesus.] As the Ras approached, he threw the cloth from his shoulders, and made a bow, the head-priest calling out to him, "Dress, dress, by



the Virgin, dress !” when the Ras resuming his cloth, the head-priests presented him a cross to kiss. After standing a few minutes, the Ras, inclining his head towards the ground, desired a blessing, which the high-priest gave ; the Lord’s prayer being repeated by the assembled crowd.

The Ras next proceeded to pay a visit to Ozoro Dinkernagh, who arrived with the king from Waldubba. She is the daughter of the former Ras Ilo of Gojam, and wife to the Gusmarsh Christy Zonde, the late governor of Gojam ; who, being overpowered by Guxo in a hard fought battle, in the plain of Dembea, made his escape round the lake Tzana to Agow Mudda ; but, in making another attempt to recover his country, he was deceived by the troops he employed, taken prisoner, and kept in chains in the Island of Carretta Wolletta in the lake, where it was supposed he and another chief, the Cannasmash Woldic, were poisoned by Guxo’s orders. Dinkernagh, though a handsome young woman, was so grieved at the loss of her husband that she turned nun, and went to the sacred wilderness of Waldubba, and had now come to the Ras, to prevail on him to use all means in his power to get her sent to Jerusalem. The Ras promised to do all he could to assist her in her undertaking. We then returned to our camp, where we found a large *dass*



erected by Palambarus Toclú, and the sons of Nebrid Alfiers, where we were as usual plentifully supplied.

When the festival was over, I and Mr. Coffin went to our tent, where we found Palambarus Toclú's servant, with a cow, a sheep, two thousand cakes of bread, and a large jar of maize, which had been carried to our tent by four men, upon a pole. Ozoro Duster, an old acquaintance of mine, had also sent me some cooked victuals, some maize, and a milch cow with her calf, desiring me to pay her a visit in the evening, with which request I was obliged to comply, though very much fatigued. I and Mr. Coffin wished to take a little rest previously, but it could not be done; our soldiers must have the cow killed, and by the time they had done eating and drinking, it was past ten at night. I had then to go to Ozoro Duster's, where I was crammed with another supper. When eating with a lady of this country, you have not the least occasion to use your own hands, except to wipe your mouth with a piece of bread, for they cram the victuals into your mouth so fast and in such large lumps, though perfectly minced, as to render it extremely difficult to swallow, until a person becomes used to it. At cock-crow I returned to my tent, where I slept soundly till after sun-rise.



I was afterwards called to dine with the Ras as usual, and found there a multitude of the Tigré people in great confusion, striving to settle how the Ras should be maintained by them. It was at length determined, that every chief should provide for his table in turn until his departure; those nearest had to provide for the first days, while those who had to bring provisions two or three day's journey next furnished the supply, and so on in rotation. It is surprising to see how safely they carry the large jars of maize over the mountains from Gundufta, &c. to Axum. It took them two days to bring the Gusmati Ischias's maize and *sowa*, and not one jar was broken upon the road.

The Ras remained at this place, paying visits every other day to the king, when they always had about an hour's private conversation together. We had here very heavy dews in the night, which caused colds throughout our camp; and the pool of standing water at Axum became so very muddy, through the number of cattle, that it caused many horses and mules to die daily. There is no river within two miles of Axum, but the inhabitants have good well-water; there are many wells hidden, and even in the plain numbers have been found, but the people are too lazy to clear them from rubbish. It appears probable



that, in ancient times, almost every house had its well, as I have been at the clearing of four, situated not more than ten yards from each other. The stone of which they are constructed is the same kind of granite of which the obelisks are formed. I was told by Apostella, an old Greek, who had bought a piece of ground from the priests, as close to the church as any of the buildings are allowed to be, that, in clearing the rubbish out of a well which he had discovered, he found some gold coins, which he shewed me ; and indeed, two of the same kind came into my possession several months afterwards, but, unfortunately, having forwarded them to Mr. Salt, they were lost on the road. One of them had a bald man's head upon one side, and apparently arms upon the reverse. The second had a woman's head, with a forked crown on it, and something imitating a balance or scales ; the characters were Greek. The coin was as thick in the middle as an English half-crown, though not thicker than a shilling round the edges, and in circumference about the size of an English guinea. None of the wells are less than forty feet deep, some of them much more. This Greek had formerly resided in Gondar and Adowa, but growing old, he had come to settle in this secure place during the remainder of his life ; he is a silver-



smith, and most of the ornaments of the principal churches are his workmanship.

In the event of rebellion or civil war, Axum is never disturbed by Christians, and those who commit murder or the worst of crimes are safe from justice when once within the *giddam*, or sacred premises. There are many other *giddams* in Abyssinia that are equally respected, and, indeed, wherever the Abunas have resided and administered the holy sacrament, such places are venerated as *giddams* alike by royalists and rebels. The number of priests and deacons allowed a share in the land, or the rights of the *giddam*, will be seen in another place.

The Ras was still waiting for the arrival of Fit-aurari Suddal, brother to Woldi Comfu of Walkayt, and, I, finding myself rather unwell, obtained permission of the Ras to go to Adowa for a few days.

February 1st. I went to Adowa, where I stopped until the holyday Kudus Michael, which is the 12th; and after settling with my landlady, with whom I lodged, I returned by the Ras's orders to Axum. In Abyssinia, it is customary for every person whomsoever, in any kind of office under the head of a province, or a visiter from any friendly or hostile province, coming or going upon business to the head of that province, or



any one travelling under protection of the latter, to have lodgings and conveniences found gratis in all towns for himself and servants, but they must find their own provisions; and it is also a general custom, when a lodger kills a cow, sheep, or goat, to give the skin to the owner of the house, with a piece of meat, and frequently to ask him to meals, though this depends upon the good-nature of the lodger. Many of these petty chiefs, when they accompany their Ras or governor to a town, where they have no house of their own, nearly ruin the inhabitants, by burning the doors of their houses, tables, cattle-pens, &c. for fire-wood, drinking their maize or *soua*, or killing their sheep. On these occasions, no one complains to the governor, for fear of having his premises burned altogether, and himself chained and brought into some unjust law-suit, which would inevitably drain him of his last farthing.

In all towns, there is a person appointed by the rulers of the place, to find out and conduct all strangers to lodgings, called *kordare*, and he who holds this office is provided for by the house-keepers of the town, who give him one piece of salt per year; on all holydays, also, he calls upon them for drink, and a piece of meat for his family, a sheepskin, &c. To those who most oblige him he seldom, if he can possibly help it, sends lodgers;



while those who displease him are sure, on the arrival of any chief, to have soldiers of the worst principles quartered in their habitations.

February 14. I arrived at Axum; where, finding the Ras had just gone to the king, I and Mr. Coffin went also to the king's *dass*. We immediately obtained admittance, and were ordered to sit down on the same spot as in our first audience. The king then began to ask me several questions; enquiring, what could be the motive of the king of our country for sending presents to Itsa Guarlu, whom he had never seen in his life, and exclaiming *Feringee tuncaliner*, [Europeans are cunning ones]. I replied, "Our king is great and charitable to all poor Christians." "Great!" said the king, "is he so powerful as Welled Selassé?" At which the old Ras laughed, and said, "He tells me that all Ethiopia is nothing to compare to him, and that I am not so powerful as one of his Allicars;" meaning a governor or commander. "If so," said the king, "why does he not put an end to all followers of Mahomet?" "Ganvar\*," I replied, "the English never compel people to religion by force, but by pointing out to them the true religion, from the Holy Scriptures; persons thus converted can

\* Ganvar and Itsa are titles of the king.



be depended upon, while those who are forced would only watch an opportunity of revenging themselves on their oppressors." "Very true," rejoined he, "but it would be a good thing to give them a sound beating, and knock their towns down, or burn them, to let them see that the followers of Christ are more powerful under Amlac Hill, [the Supreme Being] than the followers of Mahomet are." After discoursing for some time upon the manners of the nobility, and the discipline of my countrymen, subjects to the king, &c. &c., he appeared greatly astonished at the answers I gave him, though he seemed to attach but little credit to what I said.

As it was late in the afternoon, I went to my own tent, after accompanying the Ras to his *dass*, where he immediately began to play at chess, which forms his chief amusement throughout the year, Sundays and holydays not excepted, save during the fifteen days' fast for the Blessed Virgin, in August; when he never plays either at chess or *gibberta*, his two favourite games.

February 16th. The holyday, Kedan-er-merrit. The head priest persuaded the Ras to occupy the very large house of the late Nebrid Aram, then in possession of my friend, Ozoro Duster, daughter of Nebrid Aram, and niece to the Ras. To this the Ras consented, and Ozoro



Duster occupied the house of Ozoro Wolleta Alassa, her mother, and the sister of the Ras, built within the same walls. I entered the hall, with the Ras leaning upon my arm, where the Ozoro had prepared an entertainment for him; the table was abundantly furnished, and, on the entrance of the Ras, she rose from the couch she had been sitting on, covered with fine carpets and pillows, which she had previously got ready for his reception. As I sat close by Ozoro at dinner, I had no occasion to put my hand to the table to feed myself, for she was kind enough to spare me that trouble; and, after the hall was cleared, she begged of the Ras to let her give me lodgings within the walls, saying, "He is very ill, and he will be better in my house, where I can give him what he wants: these cold nights, I am sure, must hurt any body that has been so ill as he has of late." The Ras, knowing our intimacy for more than two or three years, told me to bring my clothes and two servants, and to let the horses, mules, &c., be provided for in the camp. Ozoro Duster made a very low bow to the Ras, to convince me how much she was pleased with such an opportunity of shewing me her constancy. She was formerly the wife of Subegadis, whom the Ras had given to her as a husband, when he entered into an alliance with that



chief ; but, the latter rebelling about three years after their marriage, the old gentleman sent a great force, and, by a sudden attack on the premises, during the absence of her husband, brought her to Antàlo, where I first became acquainted with her.

Notwithstanding the rebellious life of her husband, she always loved him very much ; the Ras often persuaded her to take another husband, whom he would pick out for her, but I have heard her myself declare to him that she would never marry while Abba Garre, meaning Subegadis, was alive ; whose vaunted name was taken from the first horse he rode to war in his youth, called Abba Garre Barra.

In the evening, while sitting with Ozoro, she told me a number of silly tales about Axum, among others a long story about the large snake that ruled the country. At the time this snake was king of Ethiopia, she said, all persons were their own masters, and used of their own free will to carry their tribute to the snake, which sometimes resided at Temben, though Axum was the favourite residence of the two. She likewise told me that the learned priests say, that this king-snake is still alive, but that, being angry with the people on account of their sins, he confines himself to the hollow mountain close to



Axum. She also promised to show me the troughs out of which the snakes used to eat and drink; a kindness I thanked her for, though I could not altogether keep from laughing.

In the morning, however, she begged of Ito Guebra Middin, her younger brother, to take me to this sacred place, and accordingly we went to the camp, saddled our mules, and set off. In about half an hour after, ascending the hill, by the pool, we passed Calun Negus, a little to our right, and in a quarter of an hour came to the spot, where Guebra Middin began to point out to me what he considered as very wonderful things. In this place stands a large flat rock of granite, as level upon the top as a platform, and at the end of this there is another rock, intermixed with red earth and gravel, with a deep ravine in the centre, apparently occasioned by the rains, which fall in a stream from a great height above the platform. In the middle of this granite rock are three large round troughs, neatly cut, about three feet deep, and about three and a half in diameter, which I suppose to have been made by the ancients to prepare some kind of cement in for building: but Guebra Middin gave me a very different story, which I affected to believe, for fear of creating a quarrel between me and Ozoro, his sister. He informed me that one of those troughs held the



milk, another *sherro* and bread *filfit*, or cooked victuals and bread mashed up together, while the third was the one from which the snake used to eat *cusho* every two months, *cusho* being the flour used to kill the tape-worm, without taking which every two months the Abyssinians could not live, though they have other medicines, made from bark of trees and bulbs, but none so effective as *cusho* in Amhara, or *hobbe* in Tigré.

On returning to Ozoro Duster, I pretended to believe all I had seen and heard of the king-snake, as I knew it would be folly to argue with such superstitious people. What made the joke better was, that when we were talking on the same subject at the Ras's, there happened to be an old man, a servant to the head Negade of the Ras's at Adowa, who had come with some money to the Ras, and, on his hearing the story, he told the Ras, that when he was a boy, and had not been long bought by his master, Buggerund Yanne, a Feringee came to his master's house, of the name of Yagoube, and his master told Yagoube about this snake being still alive, and living in the rocks near Axum, and that it used to come out of its den in the night; upon which Yagoube swore he would shoot him, if Yanne would give him a guide. The lad was accordingly sent with some other boys, the former carrying



Yagoube's double-barrel gun and plenty of powder and shot. When they came to the spot, they watched until they all went to sleep except the servant lad, when two large *gibs*, hyenas, came grunting and fighting together; the lad cried out, "Sidi Yagoube! sidi Yagoube!" The rest, being suddenly awakened, and hearing the growling of the hyenas, thought that the noise they heard was the snake devouring Yagoube; so they set off, and never stopped until they got within the church-yard of Axum, leaving him and Yagoube's only servant to search for him, but they saw no snake. After what had happened, Yagoube was ashamed to go into Axum, as the priests had heard that he was killed by the snake, and they would have been angry with him for pretending to do as he wished. The party therefore returned to Adowa, and Yagoube obtained leave to take the boy with him to Gondar, and to the Essneer Abby Suhkulla, where he remained with him until he went to Sennaar. The boy and some others went with the Feringee as far as Ras-el-feel, and as he gave them good wages they wished to have gone with him, but he would not take them. The old man who told this story was named Sasenas, formerly a Galla Slave to Buggerund Yanne, a Greek, Ras Michael's treasurer.



February 21st. Fit-aurari Suddal arrived from Walkayt, and was received by the Ras in a manner suitable to his rank. At supper-time, before we had begun to eat, Asgas Sedit came from the king, desiring the Ras and Suddal to attend at the church that moment, for, as it was the holyday dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, it would render all the agreements they entered into more sacred, and, the king having warned the priests of the proposed visit, the party found the church illuminated on its arrival. The king, the Ras, Suddal, Asgas Sedit, and the high-priest, were left by themselves seated in the middle of the church, where they discoursed for nearly three hours, taking oaths before the chief-priest, who ordered them to appear next morning to take the capital oath, as that ought not to be done in secret.

We returned about midnight, when all went to their respective lodgings, except Suddal, who came back with the Ras to supper, after which, before the Ras could go to sleep, Ito Russo came and insisted upon having some private conversation. He, being the chief with whom the Ras consulted on all private occasions, was admitted, and every body ordered out but myself, as I had for more than three years past been allowed the privilege of remaining with the Ras, during the



most secret discourses, either respecting his allies or his own affairs. Ito Russo began by reprimanding the Ras for his misconduct, telling him, that he would ruin himself and country by being connected with Tecla Gorgis. "You know," said he, "the oaths he takes are like a drink of water to him, and how many persons has he ensnared and destroyed by his total disregard of every species of obligation!" But the only reply the old gentleman could make was, "It's done now; we must cross the Tacazzé and look well after him in future." Ito Russo, on going out from the Ras, said several times over, "God give you wisdom, master!" after which the Ras lay down to sleep.

February 22nd. The king, the Ras, and those mentioned the night before, met at the church-gate, where numbers of chiefs and priests were present. The priests of the *giddam* were all dressed in their holy apparel, and as the sun got warm, being about ten o'clock, the priests were standing in a row before the church-door, upon the steps, when the crying cross was brought out and uncovered. The king first ascended the steps and kissed it; the Ras followed his example, Suddal next, and then all the rest concerned in the oath followed their example. This cross, called the Crying Cross of Axum, is believed by



the weak-minded people to cry whenever it is used upon these and similar occasions. Many people coming from a great distance pay a large sum to be allowed to kiss it, imagining that their sins are thereby washed away. Indeed, there is so much anxiety to see this cross, that even those far off will call out to the priests, "For God's sake hold it up higher that we may see it!" I suspect that those crafty wretches anoint this cross with some thick oily substance, which, when held in the sun, melts and shines like drops of water, but, no one being allowed to touch it except a priest or a monk, it is impossible that the cheat can be discovered.

In the year 1807, I was upon a visit with the Ras, on our march from Adowa to the sacred excavated church, Jummuddo Mariam, where there is a picture of the Virgin Mary suckling her child, probably painted in the time of the Portuguese, as the workmanship differs from that of the present Abyssinian artists. This picture is placed in a window, behind which is a dark place, and the priests told the Ras and the chiefs with him, that when any sinful persons were looking at it, it trembled violently. As I saw it myself at the time shake terribly, I looked about to see if I could discover any place of entrance, to get at the back of it, and soon observed a monk crawling out



of a very small opening in an obscure place; so, when I imagined no one took notice, I crawled in, and, after turning round one dark corner, observed a priest behind the picture, shaking it every now and then with a piece of string. I dared not to interrupt him, but being satisfied went out again. I did not forget to tell the Ras of this afterwards. He said that he believed it, "but it will not do," said he, "to quarrel with these rascals, for if I were to set them against me, I should not long be Ras."

The oath having been taken before the whole population, the drum was beat, to be ready to march in two days time.



## CHAPTER V.

Pearce is obliged by ill health to leave the Ras and return to Adowa—He is joined by his wife—Recovers and sets out for Enderta—His reception by a Village Chief—Asgas Giggar—Pearce's party refused accommodation by a Farmer—Custom of Soldiers to quarter themselves on Farmers—Mountain of Avvaro—Arrival at Chelicut—Sudden death of two Servants, attributed to ghosts or devils—Illness and death of Pearce's son—Gifts—Funeral Ceremonies—Rapacity of the Priests—Death of Ito Debbib, the Ras's brother—Cry held for him—Mourning.

As I was at this time very ill and apparently getting worse, the Ras persuaded me to return to Adowa with Blitingatore Woldi Gorgis, the governor of the town, but, notwithstanding my ill fate, I begged he would take me with him, even if he was obliged to have me carried upon a litter, and said if I died he would know the end of me, to which the old gentleman would have consented, had not Ito Russo and several of the chiefs persuaded him and me, that it would be the greatest folly to be the means of my own death. It being at length agreed that I should go to Adowa, the Ras sent for Blitingatore Woldi Gorgis, and ordered him in my presence to give me every thing that I might stand in need of, and said loudly in the hearing of numbers, "If you do not look to him



as you would to me, I shall be very sorry." On taking leave of him, he said, "Trust in God, and keep up your heart, and I shall find you well on my return."

I left the camp, and the Ras and his army marched the same day: sometimes my people carried me upon a couch, when the road was very bad, but, when good, I rode my mule.

We arrived at Adowa, late in the evening; the governor, who had arrived in the forenoon, had procured lodgings for me against my arrival, as also for my people, mules, and horses. I had every thing that I could wish for, and immediately sent for my wife Tringo, from Enderta. She arrived in six days, and with her medical aid and some simples, the use of which she had learned from old women, I soon began to find myself better; and in the course of a few days, I could go about. Blitingatore came several times to see me, and indeed did not neglect in the least the Ras's orders.

Being quite recovered, I begged to take leave of him for Enderta, but he for some time wished me to remain until the Ras should return, the road to Enderta being very unsafe, as Asgas Giggar had quitted the camp and returned to his district without the Ras's approbation, and it was supposed that he intended to join Subegadis,



though, until now, he had not quitted his own district. Ito Musgrove of Basanate, and the whole of Arramat, had been left to look after the movements of Subegadis, who, though, as usual, he had denied the dominion of the Ras, remained quiet in his own province of Agamé, while his brother Guebra Guro was with the Ras and in great favour. However, I persisted in my intention, and the governor gave me leave to depart, after passing our feast, Fassegar Awasum, Ascension Sunday, which concluded the great Lent.

We left Adowa, after taking leave of Blitingatore Woldi Gorgis; and, in the evening, as is customary for all people high or low, I formed a small camp opposite to the house of the chief of the village. There were a great number of people with me, besides my own fifty shields-men and fourteen muskets; there were also twenty-two of the Ras's soldiers, who had been left behind ill, and nearly two hundred women, who, wishing to be in Enderta by the arrival of the Ras, and hearing the road was unsafe, had taken the opportunity of coming with me. We had not been seated long before the chief of the village came out, dressed in black, being, as I afterwards learned, in mourning for his wife, whom he had buried a few days before. Upon hearing this,



the whole of our troops formed themselves into a circle, the women on one side and the men upon the other, and kept about ten minutes' cry; after which I was ordered into a large *dass*, my feet were washed, and, although the old man seated himself upon the ground, he insisted that I should sit upon his sofa. My host was named Yassu; he was formerly Fit-aurari to Ras Michael, and a near relation of Ras Welled Selassé. I had been acquainted with him for several years; he was always a very jocular old boy, and now, notwithstanding the late death of his wife, with whom he had lived more than fifty years, he began his usual jokes, and, seeing my wife seated by my side, he said, "Ah! I lost as good a wife the other day as ever your Tringo was; she would sit from morning to evening without ever getting up, during which we would drink out two large jars of maize; and then, what nice victuals she used to cook!"

In the morning, when I wanted to start, he insisted upon my taking the road of Giralta, saying, that Ito Debbib, the Ras's brother, being very ill, his son Ito Dimsu had returned from camp, and, although he had more than a thousand men with him, he was obliged to take the road round by Mugga in Giralta, for fear of Asgas Giggarr. I swore that I would not alter my route, and that



if Asgas intended to stop the public road in defiance of the Ras, he might begin with me. I accordingly set out, and, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we came to the district of Asgas Giggar. We halted by the river Wam, whence we could see Asgas, sitting upon the wall that was in front of his house, upon the mountain above us. I sent two boys to him, with two horns, ordering them to give my compliments, and beg that he would have the goodness to fill the horns with maize; and, in about an hour and a half, they returned with them filled, and one of Asgas's men, with two fine goats and two sheep. He told me that his master greatly wished me to pass the remainder of the day and night at his house; "but you know," said he, "the country people would raise some false report against you, if you were to enter my master's house," adding, "Ito Dimsu was afraid to pass, and went by the roundabout way, but my master may be offended with the Ras, his uncle, without turning rebel." After thanking his master for the sheep, goats, and maize, we again set out and travelled very cheerfully.

The women and several of the men had been greatly frightened before we passed Asgas Giggar's district, but now began singing, "To Pearce the same luck as our Maker has given to the Ras!"



This song lasted until we reached Gullybudda nearly at dark. The governor of the town having gone to the camp, I could get no good lodgings; so I sent to one of the Ras's *arristies*, or farmers, a very rich man who denied himself, and sent his daughter to tell my servant that her father had gone to Antàlo that very day, and would not return for a week. This I knew by experience to be the customary scheme, so I sent word back to the woman, that, as her father had gone to Antàlo, she must get the house ready for my accommodation, and that I would take care of it until he returned, as I could not think of leaving the Ras's cattle exposed to the danger of being taken by Asgas Giggar, who, she knew, had refused to follow the Ras to war, and deserted from the camp. I likewise sent her orders to get my supper ready directly. My servant soon came back running, and the old farmer, his son-in-law, and several ploughmen, advancing slowly; as they approached they threw their cloths from their shoulders, and fastened them round their waists. I ordered my people to tell them not to come near me empty-handed; however, they bowed to the ground, and put stones upon their necks, upon which I could not help allowing them to advance, though much to the discontent of my soldiers, who wanted me to make a market of the old rascal, by



insisting upon having ten cows for denying himself. This I had authority enough to do in this part of the Ras's dominions; but, being rather more humane than the Abyssinians generally are on such occasions, I refused to follow their advice. So, when the old man came up, he first began cursing his daughter, saying she had made a mistake, but had not wilfully denied him. I told him that I could not overlook the affair altogether, but that he must make some amends for his fault: he then offered two fat goats, besides supper for all the soldiers who were with me. This was refused, and, after some hesitation, he brought a cow with the goats, which also I refused, as she was not fat enough. At last he brought us a fat one, which I received, and, after promising not to acquaint the Ras with his denying himself to me, we got our suppers, with plenty of *sowa* to drink, but I kept the cow and goats for the next day.

In Abyssinia it is a custom, even when the king, Ras, or governor, are at home, for their soldiers to form themselves into small parties and put one, whom they consider worthy, at their head, and go into the country from farmer to farmer, living at free quarters, no one daring to deny them, unless they are too exorbitant and unreasonable in their demands. On these occasions the villagers will give a general alarm, and



raise the neighbouring villages to their assistance, and many lives are often lost on both sides. When this reaches the ears of the governor, he has both parties brought before him, and, if it is proved by oath, that the farmer offered them every thing reasonable, such as a kid, bread, and *sowa*, the soldiers are severely punished, their arms are taken from them, and they are dismissed; and should they have killed any of the people, those who struck the fatal blow are given over to the relations of the sufferers or sufferer; but, on the contrary, should the farmer have refused to give them a supper and even lodgings, he is fined perhaps more than he is able to pay.

I left Gullybudda in the morning, and about an hour afterwards I halted at the river Guddegudda, which runs through the plain between Gullybudda and the foot of the mountain Avvaro. Here I ordered the cow to be killed, and numbers of the women, who had not had any supper over-night, now received plenty of *brindo*; in less than two hours there was nothing left but the bones and skin, the latter being the perquisite of the *chellicar sigar*, master of the meat, which he sells to the leather-maker. We left the river Guddegudda about mid-day, the sky being very cloudy, and, about half past one, we began to ascend the mountain Avvaro, which divides Dova from Kala,



meaning the cold and high country of Enderta from the low and warm country of Tigré. The road up the mountain is very bad, but a good mule will carry its rider up or down with safety. We stopped, for about an hour, at the church Kedaner-merrit, half way up the mountain, which is almost hidden with large trees ; there are several caves in the sides of this ridge of mountains, like excavations, but Nature has formed them, and they are converted into churches and dwellings for *bar-tones*, or virgin-monks. They cannot be seen at any distance, either from above or below, being entirely hidden by shrubs and trees that grow wild from the projecting rocks.

About four o'clock we arrived at a village in a plain upon the highest part of the mountain, and, although the cold was intense, we were obliged to stop before we could descend to a warmer spot, some of my women-servants being tired, and not having yet come up the mountain. This village belonged to a son of Shum Giralta Tochu, who had been left behind to look after the country, while the father was at camp. I sent to him, immediately on learning where he was ; being, as he pretended, unwell and at a great distance, he said he could not come, but he sent me a goat, some bread, and a jar of maize.

Next morning I set out early, and, in about



four hours, came to the river Gibba. It being about ten o'clock, we halted, and killed a sheep and baked some *berenters*. After we had eaten, we again set out about twelve o'clock, and on our road we had a sharp shower of rain, which gave us a good wetting.

About four o'clock I arrived at my own house at Chelicut, where I found my gatekeeper and gardener had died four days before, and the superstitious people wanted to persuade me that they were killed by ghosts, or devils, as they were both found dead together in the morning, after going to bed in perfect health, and having no signs of any wound upon their persons. The priests obliged me to let my people fire off all the fire-arms into the house, before any one should enter, and then to kill a sheep upon the ground-floor, and let the blood run upon the ground, and also drink out a jar or two of maize; to all of which I immediately agreed, knowing the extent of their superstition upon such occasions.

In all parts of Abyssinia, it is customary when any new house is built, or a building has been left uninhabited for some time, and where there have been cattle killed and drink distributed, to kill a cow or a sheep, and distribute it within the buildings, which it is presumed satisfies the ghost of the place, who leaves the dwelling in peace;



but, when such places become neglected, it haunts them and kills those whom it finds within the walls; and in this opinion every inhabitant of Abyssinia will firmly persist against all reason whatever.

My neighbours brought me plenty of bread, cooked victuals, and maize. The head-priest, Allicar Barhe, and Asgas Gabri Yasous, the Ras's steward at Chelicut, maintained me three days, until I got my house put to rights, and even gave the women and strangers, who came with me from Adowa, a lodging and supper.

Being informed that Ito Debbib, the Ras's only brother living, was very ill, I went every morning to see him, and returned about noon, it being a long ride, but over a level plain, after getting over the mountain of Comfu. One day, he prevailed on me to remain all night, but in the morning I begged to leave him to go and see my son, who was very ill also, and I promised him to return the same day. Upon my arrival at home I found my boy very ill, a great deal worse than he was when I left him; he brought this illness from Antàlo, where I had sent him with his mother, a Galla slave, to live with a friend until we should return from camp. On this occasion a very extraordinary circumstance happened:



while I was sitting by the poor boy, a servant of Ito Dimsu entered the house with the blood running down his cheeks, crying bitterly, *Guilty! guilty!* [Master! master!] Hearing this, I ordered my horse to be saddled, knowing before he spoke that his master was dead. As I was going to mount, and had got one foot in the stirrup, I heard a cry all of a sudden from the people whom I had left in the house, in the Amhara language, *Ligho! ligho!* [Your son! your son!] I returned into the house, and perceived that the breath had departed from my poor boy, the only child God had been pleased to bestow upon me. Never in my life did I experience such a shock, though I strove to refrain from sorrow, but to no purpose. The sight of the poor dead boy I loved so dearly, and the disappointment of the expectations I had formed of his proving on a future day the only comfort I should have, afflicted me so much that I really wished to die with him.

Ito Dimsu's servant saw the whole melancholy affair, and went off without saying a word, and the townspeople came flocking in crowds, until both the house and yard were full; for my own part I could not bear the sight of any one; I would rather have been left by myself, but that was impossible. The priests came, and the cus-



tomary prayers were read, and my poor child was carried away to be buried, his mother following in a distracted manner.

After the funeral, the people returned to my house ; and after they had cried for about half an hour, I begged they would leave off and let me have a little rest, as I found myself unwell. They complied, and left me with only a few friends ; but, in a few minutes, the people of Antàlo, my acquaintances, hearing of my misfortunes, came flocking and began their cry, and I was obliged to sit and hear the name of my dead boy repeated a thousand times, with cries that are inexpressible, whether feigned or real. Though no one had so much reason to lament as myself, I could never have shown my grief in so affected a manner, though my heart felt much more.

Before the cry was over, the people with *devves* were standing in crowds about my house, striving who should get in first, and the door was entirely stopped up, till at last my people were obliged to keep the entrance clear by force, and let only one at a time into the house. Some brought twenty or thirty cakes of bread, some a jar of maize, some cooked victuals, fowls, and bread, some a sheep, &c. ; and in this manner, I had my house filled so full that I was obliged to go out into



the yard, until things were put in order and supper was ready. The head-priest came with a jar of maize and a cow.

What neighbours and acquaintances bring in the manner above-mentioned is called *devves*; the bringers are all invited to eat with you; they talk and tell stories to divert your thoughts from the sorrowful subject; they force you to drink a great deal; but I have remarked that at these cries, when the relatives of the deceased become a little tranquil in their minds, some old woman, or some person who can find no one to talk to, will make a sudden dismal cry, saying, "Oh what a fine child! and is he already forgotten?"\* This puts the company into confusion, and all join in the cry, which perhaps will last half an hour, during which the servants and common people, standing about, drink out all the maize, and, when well drunk, will form themselves into a gang at the door and begin their cry; and if their masters want another jar of maize to drink they must pour it out themselves, their servants being so intoxicated that they cannot stand. In this manner they pass away a day without taking rest.

\* The whole of this scene bears a most remarkable similarity to the ceremonies observed at the funerals of the lower orders of Irish.—*Editor*.



I must say, however, that the first part of the funeral is very affecting, and the only fault I can find is, that they bury their dead the instant they expire. If a grown person of either sex, or a priest, is by them when they expire, the moment the breath departs, the cries and shouts, which have been kept up for hours before, are recommenced with fury; the priests read prayers of forgiveness, while the body is washed, and the hands put across one another, upon the lower part of the belly, and tied to keep them in that position, the jaws tied as close as possible, the eyes closed, the two great toes tied together, and the body is wrapped in a clean cloth and sewed up; after which the skin called *neet*, the only bed an Abyssinian has to lie upon, is tied over the cloth, and the corpse laid upon a couch and carried to the church, the bearers walking at a slow pace. According to the distance of the house from the church, the whole route is divided into seven equal parts, and, when they come to the end of every seventh part, the corpse is set down, and prayers of forgiveness offered to the Supreme Being for the deceased. Every neighbour helps to dig the grave, bringing their own materials for the purpose, and all try to outwork one another. Indeed, when a stranger happens to die where he has no acquaintances, numbers always flock to



assist in burying him, and many of the townspeople will keep an hour's cry, as if they had been related. There is no expense for burying, as every one assists his neighbour, as I have mentioned above. But the priests demand an exorbitant sum, from those who have property, for prayers of forgiveness, and I have seen two priests quarrelling over the cloth of a poor dead woman, the only good article she had left. If a man dies and leaves a wife and child, the poor woman is drained of the last article of value she possesses to purchase meat and drink for those priests, for six months after her misfortune, otherwise they would not bestow a prayer upon her husband, which would disgrace her and render her name odious amongst the lowest of the populace. In this manner, I have known many families ruined.

An Agow servant of Mr. Coffin's, who had been left behind with me on account of ill health, died at Chelicut, where he had formerly taken a wife, and the little wages he had saved had enabled him and his wife to keep a yoke of oxen, she having a piece of land of her own. Knowing the man to be very poor, and the great regard he had for his master, I was induced to give a fat cow and a jar of maize to the priests, to pray for the poor man's soul; this they took, and



the poor woman made what corn she had into bread and beer for them, after which they refused to keep their weekly *fettart* [prayers of forgiveness] for a month, unless she paid them more, to complete which, and to satisfy these wretches, she was obliged to sell her two oxen, and the poor woman was again reduced to work and labour hard with the pickaxe.

The drum having beat at Antàlo, for the people to assemble at that place, to keep the cry for the Ras's brother, Ito Debbib, on the plain below the town of Woger Arreva, where he died, on the Thursday following his death, notwithstanding the loss of my only son, I saddled my mule, and joined in the cry, to show my respect, in company with Ito Woldi Raphael, the Ras's nephew, who had been left in charge of Wojjerat against the invasion of the Galla, and who was passing by Chelicut with his army, on his way to the cry, when I was about starting.

He stopped a few minutes to cry for my boy, and then we set out together for the plain, which, upon our arrival, we found thickly covered with people of both sexes. The *argover*, which is a sofa arched over with canes and covered with silk curtains, was just descending from the town, which we could see at a distance, with numbers of soldiers in the front firing their matchlocks ;



and by the time we came up, the sofa was placed in the customary position, and the carpets and other articles of grandeur that belonged to the deceased were spread round about it. This sofa is to imitate the bed on which the deceased died ; his effigy is also made and put upon one of his mules ; his horses are led before with his musket-men, the whole of his household following, with their shields and spears, having nothing but a skin round their waist, with their forehead and temples all torn, shouting and crying in a horrid manner. The churches of the country send each a *deval*, which is an article of taste, made of silk or carpet stuff, in the form of an umbrella, and fixed upon a long pole ; and they pay the men who bring them two pieces of salt each, all churches having more or less of them according to ancient custom ; but the church belonging to the town or village where the deceased died sends all its *devals* and public ornaments to grace the funeral. There were three hundred and fifty standing at this cry, which was considerably more than there were at the cry of Ito Manassey, his brother, and it was greatly talked of among the population. The women are seated on these occasions in one large body, and the men in another ; they rise from their seats, one at a time, and, after repeating rhymes in honour of the deceased, the ceremony



finishes with a lamentable cry from all the assembly.

There are numbers of men and women, who get a living by making rhymes and attending at cries, who are often sent for from a great distance, to attend the cry of a person of distinction; and, if they are noted poets, they receive high pay in corn, cattle, or cloth. I am acquainted with a very handsome middle-aged woman, who, though she has a large estate to live upon, has studied poetry from her infancy, and attends gratuitously at all cries that are very public, and for no other purpose than to distinguish herself. She is reckoned the best poet, either in the Amhara or Tigré language, in the country; her name is Wellela Yasous; she was born in Gondar, but her father was a Tigréan. Many great men have offered to marry her, but she could never be persuaded to listen to their proposals, though I do not mean to say she led a chaste life, a very rare virtue indeed in Ethiopia.

The Amhara people differ from the Tigré in their manner of crying and weeping: that of the latter is very affecting, but that of the former is really ridiculous. They dress themselves as fine as possible, and cry, sing, and dance, to the beat of a drum; when the cry is over, those who have not far to return to their homes in general feast



with the relatives of the deceased. When such great people as Ito Debbib die, a general cry is held throughout the whole country, both in Amhara and Tigré, and for three days' journey around the people will bring *devves* to the relations.

The natives of Tigré are more accustomed to wear mourning than the Amhara, and some, instead of making mourning cloths, wear their cloth until it is entirely black with dirt, and this serves them for a mourning suit. They in general go into mourning for sixty days : some wear a piece of blue Surat cloth, such as the merchants bring from the East ; but the true mourning suit of the people of rank is a new white cloth, first dyed yellow with *waver*, the wood of a tree, which the monks use to dye their garments. When the cloth is dyed yellow, it is again buried in a black mud, common in all plains, called *walkar* ; after remaining buried three days, it is taken out and washed, but still remains black. Such suits of mourning will last in a family for many years they borrow and lend them also among friends.

Ito Debbib, being of a different religion from the Ras, and his deceased brother, Manassey, was not buried in the same church as Manassey, but was taken to Surrova, and buried in a church dedicated to Abuna Slathivus, belonging to those who profess the religion Bate er Slathivus ; the



whole of Gojam profess this faith, and nearly half of the large province Hamazen.

After the expiration of the cry, which lasted three days, I returned home to Chelicut with Ito Woldi Raphael, that being his nearest way to Antàlo, where he wanted to go ; here we received news that the Ras was upon his return, and encamped at the Tacazzé, near Avergalle.



## CHAPTER VI\*.

Mr. Coffin's Journal of the Expedition to Gondar—Departure of the Army from Axum—The River Tacazzé—River Moi Lomin—Oranges—Cotton—Irrigation—Monkeys—Strong Mountain of Chirremferrer—The Troops annoyed by Stones rolled from the Mountain—They take it by Storm—Fodder for Cattle—Hay not known in Abyssinia—Dangerous mountain roads—The Worari, or Foragers—Gudgauds, or Pits for concealing Goods—Adventure of Pearce in a Gudgaud—Tree called Genvarar; superstitious notion respecting it—Encampments—The Ras enters Inchetkaub, the capital of Ras Guebra—Arder Rummet, the capital of Walkayt—Reception by Woldi Comfu—The Shangalla—Elephant-hunt—Story of a Monk—Strength of the Army—Sudden Death of Woldi Comfu—A Galla girl stolen from the Ras by his Nephew, Shum Temben Sarlu—The Ras deprives him of his districts—Treaty with Guxo and Ras Ilo—Beautiful Valley of Shoadar.

FEBRUARY 24th. We struck our camp at Axum, and marched by a forced march to Arder Sarfe, thinking that if we made slow marches Ras Guebra would be warned, and would have time to drive the cattle out of the country to his strong mountains. This is a small district in Barrerquor, belonging to Ito Sallander, one of the grandsons of the king Minicuffa, who provided for the Ras every thing that his little district could afford. The next day we marched to a small plain, called

\* For the whole of the account of the Ras's expedition to Gondar, which occupies this and the next chapter, Pearce is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Coffin, he himself having never been nearer to Gondar than the mountains of Samen.—*Editor.*



Ardersarhi, about six miles from the large and capital town of Mumfrets, in Shiré; here we encamped among high rushes and fine grass, and were provided for by Chellica Comfu, of the Ras's household, the commander of that district. The following day we marched to the Tacazzé, which we crossed and encamped upon the west bank, where some petty chiefs, under the Ras's dominion, brought him two cows, some maize, and bread.

In the morning, our Fit-aurari marched before daylight, and the Ras after sunrise. On account of the king, who had his favourite wife Ozoro Cottser with him, he had two small tents always pitched at a small distance in the rear of the Ras's tent. Our road lay to-day nearly south, and seldom far from the Tacazzé. The Worari foraged in all directions; and several hundred sheep and goats, and a few cows, were brought, in the evening, into the camp at Moi Lomin, a beautiful little narrow river, which rises in the different mountains of Samen, and runs very rapidly into the Tacazzé. Moi Lomin signifies Water of Limes; Buckerer Lomin would signify Water of Oranges. Many sour oranges, and vast quantities of limes, grow in different spots of garden-ground, for several miles in its vicinity. It is a deep valley, not in the least affected by the cold from



the mountains. A great deal of cotton is cultivated on the banks of this river ; it is watered by cuts from above, or small channels about two feet wide, which run along the sides of the mountain, and enable the inhabitants to water the ground with little trouble. In all parts of Abyssinia, indeed, during the dry season, the lands are watered in a similar manner, when near the rivers, and some grounds frequently grow two crops of any sort of grain. The corn that is obtained in the dry seasons by irrigation is called, in Tigré, *taff'agi* ; but this corn is not so much esteemed as *taff'currumpt*, which is the corn produced after the rains have fallen.

We passed our Sunday in this delightful spot, where I shot some monkeys of a beautiful kind, called *warg*. They have a white beard, black face, yellow hairy body, and a long tail, with a brush of white long hair at the extremity, the skin on the belly being of a bluish silver colour. I kept one of these animals for three years, with several other kinds of monkeys, but I found none so cleanly and cunning as the first. The *chil-lerder*, another native of Samen, is also a very clean animal for a monkey ; this is of large size, with a black face, very dark brown hair, and a red bare cross on the breast, and it has a very particular cry when calling to its companions, or to its



young when fearful. I kept one of them for a long time, but the continual mischief she did me and my neighbours caused me to grow weary of her, and, after breaking a looking-glass belonging to a lady of Chelicut, an article that could not be replaced in this country, I, in my anger, set my dogs upon her, who devoured her immediately. I did this more to satisfy my neighbours than from any personal motive, for, often before, when I had tied the animal for her mischievous tricks, she would cry out *Humu* for hours together, so distinctly, and look so pitiful, that I could not help letting her loose again out of mere compassion.

March 1st. We left Moi Lomin, and marched over the mountains to Chirremferrer, one of Ras Guebra's strong mountains, but far inferior in strength to Amba Hai. As the Worari approached this mountain, skirmishing with the enemy, who were in large bodies driving their cattle to the top of the mountains, numbers of our men were killed and wounded by stones thrown from the top of the mountain, some of the largest of which did more execution than a hundred muskets. In peace, as well as in war, large piles of stones are kept upon these mountains, and some very large ones are slung with ropes round the edges of the precipices, so that in case of an attack they are ready to be cut from



behind the piles, or thrown, without the natives being exposed to the enemy's fire-arms. The Worari were compelled to desist until the Fitaurari came up, when he also was obliged to halt at a safe distance from the foot of the mountain; but, on the Ras's approach, the shout of "*Gover-ser Badinsah!*" was heard from all quarters of the army, and the soldiers began to ascend like so many apes in all directions; and, though numbers were killed and wounded by the pieces of large stone that came rolling down the sides of the mountain, they gained a small hillock, where they were out of danger of the stones that hung in great piles from that side. Upon this hillock, about thirty musket-men had already secured themselves, and, with little difficulty shot any one who approached the piles in sight, in order to throw down the stones. Several of the enemy were shot in attempting to cut away some large stones that were hung with stripes of cow's hide, which being dried were so hard that they could not be divided without great difficulty, exposing those who attempted it to the fire of our gunners. I shot one of the enemy, while endeavouring to disengage one of the stones; he fell to the bottom of the precipice, but I did not of course practise the barbarity common on such occasions, for which the Ras afterwards chided me, as he had



frequently done before, at which times I have taken the liberty of telling him that his countrymen, who could thus mangle a dead body, were little better than brutes and cowards. I sometimes got the better of them in argument, when they would reply, "Our fathers have shown us the example, as well as in eating raw meat, and neither force nor persuasion can make any alteration." The king, Itsa Isack, formerly made a proclamation, by order of the Abuna, that no person should eat raw meat, but he was glad to recal it, for even the priests rose against him.

The people upon the mountain Chirremferrer were glad to relinquish the contest, and give up all their cattle, upon a promise that no one should be killed after the gateway had been opened. This mountain is small, but a good defence against such an enemy as the Amhara, who have little experience in the use of fire-arms. The people of Samen are in general good gunners, but not to be compared with the Tigré soldiers. After storming and plundering, we marched down to a small winding valley, where we encamped. There not being more than forty-six trophies produced before the Ras, he was very ill-tempered, saying he had lost more men than the enemy, and ordering those who were advancing with their captives to be beaten by the



Gaffaries from the front of his tent. Here every one began to live upon his own plunder, and no one ate with the Ras except myself.

At this place we were obliged to feed our horses and mules upon *gulliver* [straw], which is but poor food upon a march, unless it is good *taff gulliver*, which is excellent, and much resembles hay. In the Tigré language it is called *arser*. The inhabitants have no notion however of making hay, in any part of the country, though they might procure some stacks if they thought proper. The piece of meadow ground I had at Chelicut produced me, in the month of October, a large rick of good hay, though I had always a plentiful crop of green grass the whole year round, having a stream of water from above that ran in any direction in which I chose to turn it. I found the hay agree much better with my cattle, during the rains, but no one followed my example, thinking their custom best. Both horses and mules in all parts of Abyssinia are crammed, by those that can afford it, every three days, with a large lump of rock-salt, which is first pounded and mixed with a little water, so as to make it into a lump. Many of the Amhara will cram their horses with barley-flour and honey mixed together, but the pagan Galla feed their horses with milk, though the common food of horses



in the Christian countries is barley. Oats grow wild, and nothing is thought of them.

March 2nd. We left Chirremferrer and pursued our march, sometimes having to climb up very steep mountains. The Ras and the king were often obliged to dismount, while the people were in continual danger of falling from the sides of the steep mountains, which we had to traverse round; numbers of horses, mules, and asses, were thrown from off the precipices by the crowd, and dashed to pieces, and I lost five asses, with all their loading, chiefly consisting of honey and flour. I had the additional misfortune to lose a bag of powder and shot, gun-screws, and other useful articles, as well as my bed and a sanga's hide, which happened to be upon one of the asses.

Notwithstanding the badness of the roads, the Worari found their way in all directions, not a village remained unburned, nor was an animal of any kind left to the poor owners, who fled for their lives. We encamped in the district of Arwozen, which always belongs to a Mahomedan chief, the inhabitants being chiefly Mahomedans. At this time Ras Guebra had placed a favourite chief over it; but it by right belonged to Bashaw Abdalla, whom he kept in chains upon Amba Hai. Here some people, who had met the Ras



at Chirremferrer, and to whom he had given a *tubbuck* [an officer with an escort] to keep the Worari from plundering their town, came in with their tribute, consisting of cattle, cloths, and gold, and acknowledged him their ruler, and not Ras Guebra. The Worari do not like this peaceable work, though numbers of them are killed daily, when engaged in burning and plundering.

It is perhaps proper that I should here give some description of the Worari. They consist of different bodies under no particular command, into which they form themselves as chance directs; but they are all soldiers belonging to the different chiefs, as well as to the Ras or king. So many of one mess or party will go foraging for their commanders one day, while the others look after the baggage, if they have any, which is seldom the case, unless they have got it by plunder; and their women, while the men are plundering, cut from trees boughs enough to make a *goja*. I once went with my servants and a party of the Worari upon one of their foraging parties, merely to experience their nature, but the Ras, upon hearing of it, was considerably alarmed, and begged me never to repeat it.

It is a common custom, in all parts of Abyssinia, for the inhabitants of the villages to have *gudgauds*, large pits under-ground, plastered



within with cow-dung and mud, and having the mouth very narrow, some of which are made to hold forty or fifty *churns* of corn, between three and four hundred English bushels. These *gudgauds* are not only made near the villages and towns, but also in the open fields, and, when an invasion is expected, the corn and other valuables are put into them, and the mouths very carefully covered, first with spars laid close together, so that no earth may fall through; after which the part above the spars is filled with earth to bring it upon a level with the adjoining ground. Should the spot happen to be upon ploughed land, then the whole is ploughed over and over again to conceal the mouth of the *gudgaud*; if upon any other ground, it is made to appear like the ground about it; or, if near the town or village, wood-ashes and rubbish are thrown over it to give it the appearance of a dunghill: but, as this custom has prevailed for many years, and wars are so frequent in all parts, the Worari have become so well acquainted with the mode of finding these hiding-places, that they scarcely ever escape their observation. The way they begin to work is as follows. After destroying a village, or finding it deserted by the inhabitants, they form into different parties, and, keeping in a close body, begin to sing their own warlike songs,



stamping and going on in a regular pace, keeping time with their song, and throwing their shields over their heads, and holding their spears close to the end of the shaft with the bright glittering blades in the air, turning about at times in a lively way, as if they were not in search of any thing, but dancing and jumping for their pastime. I always thought this a beautiful sight. In this manner they continue until they find the ground sound hollow under their feet, when they lay their shields in a circle round the spot, and every one sets-to with both hands, as eager as hyænas after their prey; they soon claw out all the earth, break in the rafters, and then begin to fill their skins or bags: if they suspect any danger from the natives being in ambuscade near the place, to come upon them unarmed, they put down two people at a time into the pit, till every one has got his load, those above keeping a good look-out. After all are well loaded they take no farther care for their common safety, but set off to the camp in a disorderly manner, which gives the inhabitants an opportunity to kill those who fall tired by the way. In general there is more blood shed in Abyssinia among these straggling parties of Worari than in their regular battles.

I have heard Mr. Pearce say that, when in Edjow, in 1807, he was once left in the *gudgaud*, filling his



bag, when a body of Galla horse made a charge on the Worari, killing a great number, and driving the rest to the side of the mountain close by, where they held their ground against the horse, until happily for him a reinforcement by chance came from the camp. During the whole affair he sat, with his eyes towards the entrance of the *gudgaud*, with his blunderbuss cocked and pointed; till at last the horsemen retreated, and his comrades' shouts were distinctly heard, when, to his great joy, he soon heard the tramp of their feet over his head, and the next minute the cry of, "Pearce, are you full? we have driven them to the devil, but they have cut a great many of us up!"

March 3rd. We left Arwozen, and marched over the worst of mountains, as yesterday. The Worari had been ordered not to advance in front of the Fit-aurari, the Ras fearing they would all be cut off by Ras Guebra's army, which had assembled at Behader, with the view, not of giving battle, which they dared not hazard, but of watching the motions of the Worari, and taking revenge on them. In the afternoon we reached the top of a high mountain, extremely cold, but having no snow upon it. The ridge of this mountain joins Behader, and here we encamped, on a plain that extends along the top of the



mountain for a great distance. This mountain, as well as other mountains in Samen, has numbers of the curious trees called *genvarar*, that appear at a distance like naked men. The people well never cut them, owing to a superstitious prejudice they entertain that something bad would in consequence befall them. I seldom saw any of these trees above eight feet high. It is as well, foolish as it may appear, for me to explain the superstitious notions they entertain about these trees, or trunks, as they have no boughs. They say that these trees contain evil spirits, which have been cast out of human beings, and, while they are not disturbed by being cut down, they neither enter nor trouble any one, but when cut down they again enter into some person out of revenge, though it is believed not in general into those who cut them down. This tree yields a milky substance, which is used by way of ink, for the purpose of writing charms, to be worn on any part of the body as a cure for those who are possessed by evil spirits, and to prevent their entering those who are not previously tormented with them. I have known people send a person from Antàlo and Chelicut, when any of their family has been ill with a lingering sickness, to fetch the milk or a piece of the *genvarar* from the mountains of Samen.



This day a great number of our tired asses and people were captured by the troops of Ras Guebra, who had been dogging the rear as they passed Behader without our *dugin* observing them. *Dugin* is the name of the rear-guard of an army, the principal chiefs daily taking the command of it in their turns. It enters the camp when nearly dark, and appears in as regular order as their discipline admits before the Ras's tent, where the chief dismounts and makes his obeisance at a great distance, and then marches alone up to the Ras, and reports to him that all is safe within the bounds of the camp. He afterwards retires to his own quarters, unless he should be asked to supper, which seldom happens unless he be a great favourite.

The manner in which the Abyssinians encamp is, I think, worthy of notice. When encamped on a plain, which very rarely occurs in an enemy's country, the whole scene has a somewhat orderly appearance, though, at the best of times, it cannot be called regular. The Fit-aurari, with the advanced guard, always encamps three or four miles in front of the main camp, their tents being pitched with their front facing the way they have to march. The king, or Ras, is always stationed in the centre of the camp, in general upon the highest spot; his *buggerund* and chief *blitin*-



*gatore*, his head secretary and treasurer, are in front of his tent, at a short distance, his own household and horses in the rear, and on the sides of the tent and round the whole the soldiers' *gojas* are built in a circle, from the hinder part of the *blitingatore's* camp, where there is left a small entrance. All the other chiefs are encamped round about, so that their camps nearly join each other. Every chief has a large square tent with long lines; no one makes his *goja* within their length; their soldiers are encamped round them in a circle, and the horses and mules are tied with ropes made of cow's hide, which go round the neck of the animal. A small hole is dug in the ground, as far down as the hand from the elbow can reach, and a handful of grass or straw is fastened to the end of the rope, and then put into the hole to the bottom. They then fill up the hole with earth and stones, and beat it well down, which will more than resist the strength of the animal, in case he should take fright. This method the Abyssinians prefer to a stake, or any other substitute.

March 3rd. We marched from this place a little before sunrise, and, after descending the mountain, which is not so bad on this side as on the side we ascended, we got upon what is reckoned a good road in this country. The



Worari had again been ordered, by the beat of the drum, not to advance in front of the Fit-aurari. As we approached Inchetkaub, flocks of priests came out to meet the Ras in their holy garments, and holding their crosses uncovered. They caused the Fit-aurari to stop and not advance a step farther, until they had seen the Ras, and, as the front of the army approached them, they held up their crosses, forbidding any that were Christians to pass them. Accordingly the chiefs, with their divisions, turned aside and halted. The Ras, on coming up, alighted from his mule and walked up in front of the priests, and made a bow to the cross, but would not give ear to what they had to say, telling them merely, that he would not harm their capital, but make it his residence. The king Tecla Gorgis passed by them with more haughtiness, and never so much as stopped his mule, but called out, "Take down your crosses, and cover them up," which order they did not obey. The Ras ordered by beat of drum not to plunder or burn any part of the town, but commanded that every chief should have such separate quarters as he should think proper to point out; and we marched in as if we were marching into Adowa or Antalo. The women met the army in gangs, beating drums, dancing, and singing in praise of the



Badinsah, to this effect :—"Badinsah has ten thousand trophies, while Guebra is hung upon the mountain."

The Ras entered Ras Guebra's premises. His wives, who had put themselves under the protection of the priests, were taken from them by force and brought to the Ras. The king had a part of the premises for himself and train, some symptoms of whose treachery had been plainly pointed out to the Ras, in his having sent and received private messages from Ras Guebra, then in the mountain Amba Hai; upon this orders were privately given by the Ras to his favourite petty chiefs, who by turns kept guard every night round his tent when in camp, to look strictly into the king's motions, but as if they took no particular notice. The Ras directed his secretary to collect all the chiefs under him in his tent, and he did not enter a house that night, but had his tent pitched within the walls, in front of the great *aderrash*, a long thatched house, which was occupied by the Ras's *abbuzers*, cooking-women, maize-carriers, &c., and pointed out different quarters for the chiefs in waiting. At supper, the ladies belonging to Ras Guebra were all presented to the Ras, I being present, but no person besides. The Ras said very little to any of them, except the oldest favourite wife of Ras



Guebra, with whom he discoursed upon the continual treachery of her husband towards him. Ras Guebra kept more than sixty women, but not more than thirty three appeared this evening at supper, the others having made their escape from mistrust of the Ras, and gone to Amba Hai. After supper they all returned to their separate apartments within the walls. One beautiful Galla, whom Ras Guebra had brought up and educated under a priest of great learning, the old gentleman recalled, and gave in care to Abbuzer Tisral, the head-cook.

The next day, the Ras ordered the drum to beat, to warn every body to be careful of their provisions and what they had plundered, as they would not quit this station for many days. The great Lent, or fast, had begun several days before; I used to eat meat, being allowed it on account of illness. The *wotada* will drink water when upon a march, but not eat anything until the proper hour, which is, when your shade is nine times the length of your foot in the afternoon; in other fasts it is more.

Fit-aurari Suddal being upon the march for Walkayt, I obtained permission to go with him for a few days, and returned with the Gusmati Woldi Comfu.

March 6th. We left Inchetkaub early in the



morning with not more than two hundred soldiers, without any baggage, having previously sent every thing forward. We halted for the night in a wilderness upon the skirts of the holy land of Waldubba, leaving the Segudda to our left. Before day-light we again set off, and, after marching through the wildest roads, arrived about midday at a small village in Walkayt, where Fit-aurari took some refreshment, it being Saturday, on which day, as well as on Sundays, they do not fast, but eat no flesh. When we had refreshed ourselves we again set off, and marched through numerous cotton plantations, watered from different small streams that run from the mountains. At night, after dark, we arrived at Arder Rummet, the capital of Walkayt.

Woldi Comfu was at supper, but the moment he was told of his brother's arrival he caused his hall to be cleared to make room for the visitors, as several people belonging to the Ras's household were with the Fit-aurari only for a visit. I was the first introduced to him, and, though he had never seen me before, he seated me upon his own sofa, while all others, as well as his brother, were seated, as is customary, on the floor. After supper there was a great quantity of maize presented. He hearing that the Räs had required his presence at his camp in less than ten days, nothing



but bustle was heard and seen about his household; for it is usual for the soldiers, in all parts of Abyssinia, before their masters take the field, or when they go to camp only for a visit, to come before them in turn and shew their activity with their arms, and boast of what they have done and will do. I slept in the same *adderrash* in which we ate our supper, while the Gusmati retired to his women's apartment. Next morning a sheep was killed for me, every one being fasters except a young boy, nephew to the Gusmati, who ate upon a side-table with me.

A Tigré chief, son to Ito Cofta, had come purposely to kill an elephant, which the youngsters in Abyssinia in general do, to distinguish themselves in their first setting off, and their next exploit is to kill a Galla, or a Shangalla; for, until a youth has done this, he has but little to say in company. Cofta having made known his intentions, the Gusmati ordered him a guide. *Walkayt* is the northernmost boundary of Abyssinia west of the *Tacazzé*. The neighbouring people north and west are Shangalla, or common Negroes, who inhabit this country in different tribes far to the north and west; their language differs in almost every tribe, and they are by far the mildest-tempered race I ever saw. *Ras Welled Selassé* has always near his person a great number



of them, who are educated by a schoolmaster, whom he keeps on his premises to teach the slaves of all kinds. The tribes bordering on the territory of the Christians are continually hunted and tormented by them; they inhabit the most desert parts, eat elephants, wild buffalo, camelopard, rhinoceros, rats, snakes, frogs, &c. They are hunted by the Christians, who kill the old men if taken, and make slaves of the young. In and about Walkayt there are numbers of Shangalla who have become familiar with the Christians and Mahometans, and who in the rainy season cultivate spots in the adjoining desert, and sow the grain called *marshella*, under the protection of the Gusmati of Walkayt.

Cofta set out in the evening, for the purpose of shooting an elephant, with some gunners. In Walkayt, Ras-el-feel, and Shiré, on the east of the Tacazzé, the elephant-hunters have large and long matchlocks for the purpose, which they lend to those who want to kill, but the owner receives some teeth for the loan. Cofta, being too young to handle the spear, preferred a matchlock.

Next morning, the Gusmati lent me one of his mules to go with some of his Shangalla horsemen to see them kill an elephant. His nephew, a boy not more than ten years of age, went with us,



and we were accompanied by several gunners besides my own servants. The Shangalla were eight in number, with four horses; four of them had spears and shields, the other four had swords such as come from Sennaar, sharp on both edges. On our road we passed through the desert which is nearly covered with thorny bushes. I observed in several places Shangalla ploughing the sandy earth against the rains, as in general there are a few days' rain in all parts of Abyssinia in the month of April, when they sow the grain. These Shangalla were now preparing for what is called *marshella*. Two women, naked, with straps over their shoulders and holding by both hands, dragged the plough, while a man steered it. About three in the afternoon we got sight of a number of elephants and rhinoceroses; when the eight men got upon their four horses, one upon the saddle, with his spear and shield, and another behind with a sword, which is very sharp towards the point. About a span and a half above this they have a piece of hide wrapped round the blade, fitting the right hand that the edges may not cut them. Some have a cord twisted round the blade, which serves them always when they go a-hunting; if hide is used they want a fresh piece every time, because, when dry, they cannot get it off without cutting it, and to soak it in



water would spoil the blade, though some of them prefer this trouble, on account of the good and secure hold they have of it. We were ordered by the Shangalla to sit down all together, and not to fire a gun or make the least noise; some of the elephants\* were eating the trees about two hundred yards below us. The hunters then rode off in different directions, and selected the elephant they found furthest from the herd. The horses being used to the sport, the men ride at full speed quite in front of the elephant they mean to kill, when they bring the horse up suddenly, and if possible the spearsman will strike his spear into the eye, or as nearly so as he can. Whether he strikes the animal or not he turns his horse quickly, and keeps cantering round the beast, which turns as the horse goes round him. After some time the poor beast becomes tired and careless about turning round any more, but either stands still or walks straight on; then the swordsman, when close to the elephant's hind legs, drops off over the horse's tail, and with both hands gives the beast a cut a little above

\* The almost proverbial sagacity of the elephant is as much celebrated in Abyssinia as in the other parts of the world which it inhabits; and many are the stories related of its subtlety and "half-reasoning" faculties: indeed it seems to be considered by the natives as a species of superior being.—*Editor*.



the heel. The great sinew, which appears more like fat than sinew, being cut, the animal has no longer the power to stand, when they spear him or cut him with knives, as they choose. The teeth they take to their masters, who exchange them with the Mahomedans for articles brought from the sea, and the Shangalla cut the flesh into strings and dry it for *quantar*.

The Walkayt Shangalla, as well as the Tacazzé, are not quite so woolly-headed, flat-nosed, and thick-lipped, as the Abawi Shangalla, beyond the Abawi; neither are they so mild-tempered as the former. After the sport was over, we mounted our mules, and rode towards home by the same road we came. When dark, we pitched our little camp under a large *segгла* tree, and had plenty of provisions and maize.

Early in the morning we set out again, and about twelve arrived at the Gusmati's house at Arder-Rummet. Here we found all in a bustle as we had left it, getting ready their provisions for the camp. The Gusmati Woldi Comfu, though very civil to me, behaved differently to others, and had indeed an extremely sullen look.

Walkayt is a country not much esteemed for its corn and cattle; the latter they bring from Tigré, Temben, and other parts east of the Ta-



cazzé, and exchange them for cotton-cloths, which are more numerous here than in other parts of Abyssinia, excepting Shiré.

March 13th. I left Arder-Rummet with the army of the Gusmati Woldi Comfu, our road being exactly the same as the one I had come with Fit-aurari Suddal. We encamped in a wild woody place within the boundaries of Waldubba. The next morning a great number of monks joined in our march from a church called Kudus Michael, as they wanted to see the Ras. One of these monks walked by the side of my mule nearly all the road, and told me abominable lies, which I pretended to believe, as the weak-minded people really do. He said he was related to the ancient kings of the race of Meneleck, and that he had formerly been very wealthy, but, being quite averse from the pleasures and sins of earth, "I gave all," said he, "to the poor and turned monk, being a *dingle* [a virgin]. When I came to Waldubba, I joined in the club of monks, where we used to drink *tsug* and *taller*\* once every month, but, thinking this too much indulgence for a sinful soul, I forsook them and turned *bartone*. On my first setting out, in the midst of the wilderness, living upon nothing but leaves

\* *Tsug* is maize, and *taller sowa*, in the Amhara language.



and seed, I found myself very weak and tired, when a large lion, with a very long mane, came towards me. God had given me courage not to fear, and he came, and rubbed his sides against me, as if he wanted me to get upon his back, which I did, and he took me where he pleased. When he stopped, I alighted and gathered leaves, herbs, and roots, for my subsistence, while he went to kill something for himself. All the *bartones* ride on lions," continued he, "as a look from us tames the wildest beasts." All this palaver I heard, and at the same time thought he deserved the whip I held in my hand, but dared not show the least sign of using it, as I wished to do. I was glad when I had got rid of him, for he bothered me so much about Jerusalem that I was heartily tired, it being a place as I told him I had never seen, but he would not believe me. It became dark before we could reach Inchetkaub; we therefore encamped close to the church Abbagarva, about two miles from the camp, and the next morning went into the town.

The Gusmati Woldi Comfu having had about two hours' private conversation with the Ras, it was determined that he should return to his own country, and he set out the next day, for what reason no one knew. The Ras's army was more



numerous than it had been in any war in which I had ever yet been engaged, though they have no regular mode of numbering their troops, either as regards the men or the chiefs. It was supposed that there were more than fifty thousand Tigré soldiers, and twenty thousand Amharas; the latter commanded by Asgas Sedit and the Cannasmash Gabrew, brother to the Gusmarsh Ackly Marro. Gabrew is the son of the Cannasmash Cofta; Marro is the son of Ackly, a Gavverry farmer, but born of the same mother. Marro is the youngest, and, being braver than his brother Gabrew, soon drove him out of the district, which he had no right to do, Gabrew being the lawful heir; who fled for protection to Ras Welled Selassé, by whom he was well treated during his residence with him, and who had given him his niece Ozoro Sarlu to wife.

The Ras had sent and received messages from Guxo, who was then on the borders of Lasta, and had driven Ras Ilo to his mountain Selahferre; but, the last messenger not returning as soon as was expected, the drum was beat for all to be ready to quit Inchetkaub by the holyday Baler Mariam, the 21st of the month.

March 17th. The Gusmati Woldi Comfu left our camp well and in good health, but the next



day, on his march, he died upon his mule so suddenly that he never uttered a word : his death caused a general cry in the camp, which is not common when an army is in the field.

The beautiful Galla girl I have before mentioned, given to the care of Abbuzer Welleta Tisral, was stolen, and taken by force from the Abbuzer's apartment, while she was attending upon the Ras at supper, by Shum Temben Sarlu, nephew to the Ras. The old gentleman, on being made acquainted with the affair, sent for the girl, who by this time had been returned, and asked in what manner she had been taken from his premises. She said, " While I was sitting by myself in the *wats bate*, [cook-house,] the Abbuzer having gone with all the women to carry the victuals to supper, a chief came in with several people, who caught hold of me, and carried me away to a tent; and, after passing the night with me, he sent me back with only one man, who ran off after he had come with me half-way. This nephew, though the Ras had shown him many favours, by forgiving him for rebellion, had done the same three times before with different women belonging to the Ras. The Ras desired the people about the premises not to talk about the matter to any one, adding that as his nephew had again shamed him it was



impossible for him to put the *Wodde Mammen* (meaning son of a lewd woman) to death, as he deserved.

Next morning the Ras put the girl upon one of his own mules, and sent her, with all her attendants and five or six more of Ras Guebra's women, to Amba Hai with a guard, as far as the foot of the mountain, from which Subhart, the regular messenger to and from Ras Guebra, took them up to the mountain, with something similar to a flag of truce. Meanwhile the drum was beat to proclaim that all districts and land of any description, belonging to Shum Temben Sarlu, were taken from him by order of the Ras, and given, (naming the different portions) to Palambarus Toclu, Woldi Garva Quontarte, and Ito Musgrove of Basanate; in consequence, the soldiers of Sarlu, knowing they should never get their pay, and seeing no source whence it could come, quitted him, and enlisted with the new chiefs of their country.

Sarlu, by this transaction, became sensible of his bad conduct, and sent for me. I at first refused to comply, but his continual messengers and the former intimacy we had kept up, at last induced me to go and see him; I therefore took an opportunity of paying him a visit unknown to the Ras. I found him sitting upon a



sheepskin, and indeed he looked very sheepish himself. After the usual compliments of the country, "What false report is this?" said he; "can you not persuade the Ras not to give ear to my enemies? It is on his account that I have so many." I interrupted him, by saying, "Sarlu, for God's sake hold your tongue, for I have little time to spend with you, but I will tell you what is witnessed against you;" and, after repeating word for word what I had heard both the Galla girl and others tell the Ras in my presence, I said, "I myself should only tell you a lie if I said I do not believe you guilty of the crime laid to your charge." Upon which he began to tear off the hair from his temples, the same as he would have done if a relation had died that moment in his presence. He cried in a lamentable tone, "What an unlucky soul I am! I can do nothing but what is known directly." I answered, "You are very lucky, for if you were in the hands of any one else but Ras Welled Selassé they would not have left you your head to tear, as you are now doing like a fool;" and upon this I left him. In the morning I sent every body out of the Ras's presence and told him the whole story, for fear my visit should be made known to him by some other person. He said, "Guebra Massea, his father, was



my youngest brother, by our father Kefla Yasous, though not by my mother Welleta Sian : before he died I visited him, when very ill, and he caused me to swear by the bones of his father, Kefla Yasous, that I would have the same affection for Sarlu, his son, as I would have for Manassey's or Debbib's children, who were my brothers by one mother ; after such an oath, how can I hurt the *Zear Wodde Mammen* ?”

March 21st. The Amhara Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac and Chellica Comfu marched, and encamped about eight miles from the town. The Ras would not stir that day through respect to the Virgin Mary, it being her holyday. The drum was beat, as an injunction not to burn or hurt any part of the town upon quitting it, under pain of death.

Next day the Ras marched to the place where the Fit-aurari had been encamped, who had quitted and encamped a little farther on. Here the messenger of Ras Guxo arrived, and as it appeared the Ras had taken into consideration that if he entered Guxo's territories it would be the destruction of Lasta and Ras Ilo, his particular ally, it was settled that the Ras should do as he thought proper with the province of Samen, and all other districts belonging to Ras Guebra,



which extended to the Ungarrau; that Guxo was to retire immediately from Lasta, and return to Ras Ilo all the cattle that had been taken from him by his army; and that Ras Ilo should possess the districts in Daunt and Wadler belonging to the Gusmarsh Asserrat, then in chains upon the mountain Mokkina. This treaty being settled, agreeably to the wishes of all the chiefs except the Amhara Cannasmash Gabrew and Asgas Sedit, who were not put by it into possession of their former territories, the drummers beat throughout the country of Wogara Bellesart, to warn the inhabitants to bring in their tribute of cattle, gold, &c. before the expiration of three days, during which time the Ras remained on the mountain that forms the east side of the valley Shoader, a most beautiful country, belonging to Ozoro Setches, the Ras's first wife, daughter of the Gusmarsh Errocklis, brother to Ras Guebra. This district belonged to her by birth. Several springs and a beautiful stream run through the valley, the banks of which are covered with vines, peaches, limes, and other garden fruits; *tringo*, a favourite fruit, is also very plentiful. The drum had beat several times, to warn all persons not to enter the valley upon pain of being flogged round the camp, notwithstanding which the *wotada*, having got sight of the ripe peaches and grapes,



before the Ras could be informed of it, the whole valley was swarming, as if with the devouring locust, and in a few hours not a bunch of grapes nor a peach was to be seen, which greatly aggravated the Ras, as he had expected to have his table supplied with them every day during his stay.



## CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Coffin's Narrative concluded—Expedition to collect the Income of Wogara, &c.—Lofty Mountain of Limalms—The River Ungarrau—Arrival at Gondar—The king's house—Description of the town—Singing Women—Wine—Fish—Mr. Coffin receives a Visit from an old Servant—Jews—Priests—Church of Quosquom—Building Materials—Painting—Return to Inchetkaub—Deputation of Priests sent by Guebra to intercede for him with the Ras—Intrigues of Guebra and Tecla Gorgis—Mountain of Sankar Bar—Attacked and taken by the Ras—Slaughter of the enemy—Devastations of the conquerors—Mountain of Amba Hai, Guebra's strong-hold—The government of Samen given to Guebra Michael—The Gama—Interchange of presents between the Ras and Ras Guebra—Trial of an English cannon—Story of a Turk.

APRIL 1st. The Ras dispatched Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac and Chellica Comfu, with the Amhara Cannasmash Gabrew and Asgas Sedit, to collect the income of Wogara, Mariam Wor, &c., and at the same time commanded them not let their men pass the Ungarrau, under pain of having their commands taken from them. I obtained permission to accompany this expedition, and we marched to Wogara. The people offered resistance, but soon found that they should have the worst, for at first they thought our army consisted of the Amhara Asgas Sedit and Gabrew only, but, upon hearing the cry of "*Goverser*



*Badinsah!*" they were struck with a panic and fled in all directions, while our troops plundered their villages. Next day, we began our march over Limalms, a very high mountain, but nothing to compare with Amba Hai, or the mountains about Sugernet: from the top of Limalms you can see all the plain country of Gojam, and round about to Emfras, and the mountains beyond the lake Tzana. This mountain is worse to go down the west side than it is to go up on the east; and, our party being very numerous, and in each other's way, we were about three hours before we got to the bottom: our march still lay over small hills, ascending and descending, and about four o'clock in the afternoon we came to Mariam Wor, a small river, in this part running over a rocky bottom and having steep rocks on each side. Here our Worari plundered the premises of Palambarus Devlo, a general in the service of Guxo; there were many disputes between the Fit-aurari and Amhara, who had been the occasion of this act, and consequently of breaking the treaty with Guxo. The Amhara said, "How could Guxo have to do with it, or what business had a servant of his to reside in the territories of Ras Guebra?"

The news of our approach had many days past been in Gondar, and, before we left Inchetkaub, the



king, Itsa Guarlu, had taken all his property and gone to the *giddam* island, Carretta Wolletta, in the lake Tzana ; indeed all great people in office under Guxo had done the same, fearing the tyranny of Tecla Gorgis, and supposing that he would be again placed upon the throne. Next morning we marched to the Ungarrau, and about twelve o'clock encamped close by an old bridge, formerly built by the Portuguese in the reign of king Fasil, for the purpose of crossing the river in the rainy season. It is but a poor building, formed of irregular-sized stones and mortar. I was told by an Amhara priest that there are several of these bridges, called Fasil Dilde ; this one over the upper Ungarrau, another over the lower Ungarrau, one over the Rib, one over the Moghetch, two over the Abawi, and one over the Kar ; this latter was never finished. Although these are at the present day considered as great works of antiquity by the Abyssinians, they would be thought nothing of in the meanest part of Europe.

Here we had nothing but disturbances : the Cannasmash Gabrew and Asgas Sedit had entered Gondar contrary to the orders of the Ras, and, knowing they had nothing to lose by this disobedience, they set-to and plundered all the premises of the Gusmarsh Marro of Dembea,



who was the present commander in Gondar, but had gone with Guxo's army against Ras Ilo ; and they likewise took the property of several others, who, they said, were their enemies. The Tigré troops wanted to do the same, but several being severely punished by the Fit-aurari and Chellica Comfu, this soon put a stop to their proceedings.

I could only see a part of the east side of the town, where I was stationed, but from a hill about a quarter of a mile from our camp I could survey the whole. The king's house, called Itsa Gamb, (king's tower), stood in the middle upon a height, and looked more like a Portuguese church than a royal palace. The king does not live in it at present, nor has he for many years past ; the doors are all broken down, and the whole is very much out of repair, though within the walls Itsa Guarlu had built several decent apartments, besides the one he lived in when here. According to the Abyssinian way of building, the town is scattered about over a vast tract of land, in general high with small hillocks ; every part takes its name from either the church, market, or people, that occupy the ground. Chegge Bate is a large piece of ground, spacious enough to build a town upon, from which no one, if even guilty of murder, can be taken, it being the residence of the *chegge* or head-bishop of Abyssinia ; the Abuna's premi-



ses have the same respect paid to them. The part of the town occupied by Mahomedans, though many Christians are intermixed with them, is called Salem Ga. Ardervaohi is the name of the main public road, that leads to the king's house, where they hold the market; the same road leads to the *wock-gavier*, [gold-market,] where they exchange gold for salt, and no one dare weigh the gold but the proper persons in office, who are always silversmiths, and of whom I shall give an account in another place. If Gondar were built in a regular manner after the mode of building in Europe, one eighth of the ground would be sufficient for its population. The houses are all thatched, but, on account of the badness of the clay, they are obliged to thatch their walls likewise, to prevent their being washed down by the rain; while, in several parts of Abyssinia, the clay and stones that the walls are built with will resist the rains for a number of years. The whole town is lined with *wanzatra* trees, which hide the houses from the view; one part especially, and the only part I have been in, which was by night, is so thickly covered with those trees that you cannot see a house before you get within the trees that surround it. This part of the town goes by the name of Turkouch Minder, which name arose from the Sennaar troops.



having been quartered there, when in the service of the king, Arlem Segued Yassu, (meaning "the world bows down to Yassu") or Yassu Tarlack the great.

In the day time our camp was full of the Amhara women, who used to join in gangs, the girls in one and grown women in another, singing to the sound of a drum, which a woman beat at both ends, and carried slung with a string about her neck. They sang the following song: "Give the Badinsah breeches, and he is a lion: where is the man that will dare to hold his shield to him?"—"Give him breeches" merely means when he is up and dressed he is ready, and no one dare face him. I had many acquaintances here, who brought me as much wine and brandy as I and my servants could drink, and fine peaches and grapes were very plentiful, it being just the season for them.

The wine is very good, but what we make in Enderta is much the same; it will not keep more than three weeks, or a month, before it becomes sour, arising from the want of proper vessels to keep it in, as they have nothing better than earthen jars for the purpose, and these are not glazed within. I have kept wine the whole year round in English bottles. The brandy they make is very strong, and distilled through a



hollow cane, called *shambacco*, from the husks and stones of the grapes, after the liquor is pressed from them. Great quantities come daily to town at this time of the year from Corder Emfras, the grape country. Grapes are found in almost all parts of Abyssinia, but no country produces so much as Emfras, owing to an ancient custom of the inhabitants following the wine business. Here tribute is paid to the king and the Abuna. Every *dass* of wine pays a jar yearly to the king, as they enter Gondar to the market, and every other article that enters the market for sale pays likewise a portion to the king's officers; butter, pepper, greens of every kind, wood, corn, and cattle, are exempt from duty. It is the same in all other capitals of Abyssinia, such as Adowa and Antàlo. The rules of the custom-house, and duties upon merchants and merchandise, will be seen in a subsequent page.

Fish are abundant, especially those called *ambazza*, an ugly fish, though very good eating, being very fat, having scarcely any small bones, and being without scales like the eel; its skin is very thick. There is another scaly and very good-looking fish, called *barki*, but not so sweet as the foregoing, and full of small bones. This fish, as well as a smaller one, called *lombe*, and which resembles the English gudgeon, are very



good eating, and both are abundant in all the rivers of Abyssinia. The *ambazza* is also found in most of the large rivers. The inhabitants of Gondar make *quanter* of them, by drying them with scarcely any salt, in which state they will keep a long time. In the month of August, on the first of which begins the fast called Filsetter, Blessed Virgin, the youths go to Dembea, with large sticks in their hands, and, the lake Tzana being at that time overflowed and the water muddy, they kill great quantities of this fish, which they find in the shoal and muddy water. My acquaintances tell me that one *amola*, which is a piece of salt worth the ninth part of a dollar, will buy enough *ambazza* for twenty families' suppers : at that season wine is also very cheap ; one *amola* buys a large jar of about six gallons ; from the beginning of March to the end of May, you may buy it at this price. At the same season you can buy three *brulys* of brandy, which is about three pints, wine measure, for one *amola*.

My old servant, whom I had discharged, in the beginning of last year, paid me a visit, having heard of me from the townspeople, who visited our camp ; he brought his two sons with him, each conducting a girl with a jar of wine. With the little money he had received from me as



wages he had put one of his sons into a small line of business, by trading from Gondar to Sarsar; the other is a deacon belonging to the church Quosquom. I strictly inquired of the former about his manner or custom of trading, and what he dealt in; he told me that two dollars' worth of salt, taken from Gondar, would sell for a *wakeah* and a quarter of gold in Sarsar, and if he kept in good health, and after paying all *bers*, places where they take toll for the passing of salt, in a line of trade common in all parts of Abyssinia, he should often have a *wakeah* left clear upon his return to Gondar. During the rains, he said he went across the lake Tzana, upon a *tonquor* that carries *gesho*, [wood] &c. from Agow Mudda. The *tonquor* is a large raft, with spars laid crosswise upon the top, and mats sewed upon them and round the edges, so that goods and people go from island to island, and across the lake, dry. The common rafts used for crossing the larger rivers in the rainy seasons, such as the Tacazzé, are a very dangerous contrivance; for it often happens that the stream will break the raft, and those upon it are never seen or heard of more. He told me that Sarsar was a large Shangalla town, the capital of the province; that its best buildings were not better than the worst in this place, being all small alike, and in the same shape as the



commonest huts about the towns in Abyssinia. This town is upon the banks of the Abawi, as near as Gondar is to the Ungarrau. When he went all the way by land in the dry season, he said he had to cross the river Abawi three times, as Sarsar lies upon the west bank of the river. Agow Mudda, Gesar, and Devarte, are also capital towns of the Shangalla. The Abawi Ras, or head of the Abawi, rises at Succola, passes through the lake Tzana, and, running again to the south, takes a turn round its head, and again pursues its course north; in this manner it must be crossed three times going from Gondar to Sarsar, which it would be difficult to do in the rainy season.

The Jews, at present, are not numerous in Gondar, as scarcely four hundred can be found in the place. They have a house of prayer at Derfecher Keder Merret.

The priests are numerous in Gondar; every church maintains a great number by means of the land that belongs to it. This land, as in all parts of Abyssinia, is divided into *reams*, equal shares; the head-priests have ten parts, and others of high rank have in proportion, some four, some two, &c. Quosquom is at present the mother church; it is well thatched, and the blue silk with which it is lined, and the large mirrors with



which it was adorned, by the Queen Eligge Mantwaub, the daughter of the Quonquosh, are still in a perfect state. The priests are of opinion that their city is very grand, and they even call it *Cuttermar Arbar arrat Bate er Christian*, meaning the city of forty-four churches.

Quosquom was built by the above-mentioned Yer Eligge Mantwaub, daughter of the Quonquosh, who took the name from the mother of Benecuffa, who was born and lived at Quora, where Benecuffa was also born, whose daughter, Ozoro Hunkeyey, was the mother of Yer Eligge Mantwaub, and also born at Quora, where she gave birth to Eligge Mantwaub. Yassu Tarlack, the husband of Eligge, was also born in the neighbourhood of Quora; and the royal family and court, having removed to that place, were distinguished by the name of Quonquosh, and are called so to this day. After the death of Yassu, Eligge became queen and very rich; she was a very generous and splendid princess, was remarkably fond of white people, and employed several Greeks and Armenians to build the church of Quosquom. In making golden crowns, crosses, cups, &c., for the holy service and the administration of the sacrament, and likewise for silk carpets, cushions, hangings, &c., to complete her church, they say she spent fifty thousand



*wakeahs* of pure gold; though the edifice is of no better materials than other buildings in the city. As she had no one in her service who could make mortar, this church is built with clay, rough stones, wood, canes, and straw, which are the principal materials for the first buildings in Abyssinia. Yer Eligge Mantwaub had her church built in a way to prevent fire from destroying it, after the manner of Abba Garimur, a church in Tigré.

The church, of an oblong square form, has a flat top, and within it is well plastered with the best clay; it has a kind of portico. The outside is covered with thatch, to preserve the building from being washed down by the rains: a good thatch, done by persons who profess the business in this country, will last for thirty or forty years without wanting repair. They do not thatch with straw, but Nature has provided them with a long strong wiry grass, which grows wild during the rains upon almost all the mountains; it does not become bristly until it is fairly scorched by the sun, and when wet again becomes pliable: they call this grass, *bate sar*, [house-grass]. Quosquom being the most esteemed church in Gondar at the present day, I have been induced to give a fuller account of it.

Nearly one half of the forty-four churches of Gondar have fallen down, and perhaps the reader



will imagine that it would require a great deal of skill, labour, and expense, to rebuild them, supposing them to be nearly on a par with St. Paul's, or Westminster Abbey; but, in order to prevent so erroneous an opinion, I shall point out, in a true and plain manner, the mode adopted, and the materials used, in building what is called a cathedral, in such capitals as Gondar and Antàlo. If a church is to be built, every Christian is ready to carry stones, clay, &c., gratis; and when the king, Ras, chief-priest, or any other individual, intends to build or repair a church, or to erect any large building for his own residence, he first buys, or takes from the poor country people for nothing, canes and grass; for wood he will send to the people of the districts lying near the wood country, or where it is to be procured the best and easiest, and order them to bring it, till sufficient materials are collected for the purpose. To buy the whole of these materials fairly would not cost them more than eighty German crowns. I have been enabled to make with certainty the following calculations from my own experience in building and paying fairly for every thing. Of the *shambacco*, a hollow cane, the material for covering, you can buy one thousand five hundred per dollar, and fifteen thousand for ten dollars, which would be suffi-



cient for any building I have yet seen in the country. Small spars, of different kinds of wood, may be bought at the rate of fifty per dollar, five hundred per ten dollars, and twenty dollars for wood of larger size, for door-ways, &c. ; one hundred and sixty boys' and girls' load of grass per dollar, one thousand six hundred per ten dollars. Four builders, if even *Fellashers* [Jews] would cost no more than one dollar each for six days, and twelve days' work, with four workmen, would finish any of their buildings. The thatcher would agree to complete the whole for four dollars, and the remaining eighteen dollars would be sufficient to treat generously the men, women, boys, and girls, neighbours, and all who assisted in mixing the clay and carrying it and stones to the builders, besides *sowa* and *taller*. They in general mix *taff* straw with their clay, to make it hold together, as hair is used in mortar in Europe. Many pious Christians, who can afford it, will go to a great expense in ornamenting one of those churches within, with painting and articles made of gold and silver, and carpets and silks, which are very costly in this country.

Their manner of painting is, I think, very curious : it is as follows. After plastering the wall and smoothing it with clay, they line it, when perfectly dry, with cotton cloth, which is



stuck to the wall by means of a slimy substance made from cow's hide, or from the fruit of the *wanzatra*. Over this cloth they lay a coat of white-wash, made from chalk or lime-stone, first burnt, and then pounded and mixed with water, adding a little of the aforesaid substance with which the cloths are stuck to the wall. They then draw the outline of the picture with charcoal, and afterwards paint it with black paint, which they make by burning hemp-seed nearly to a cinder; they then shade their painting, by strengthening or weakening their colour. They make no colours in the country, except a fine red, which they use for dyeing ivory, and this is made from a wood called *zanen*. All other paints they obtain dry from Arabia; these they grind and mix themselves, and always mix the yolks of eggs and gum-water in their paints of all colours. The paints are ground on a smooth stone, with the yolks and gum-water, and tempered with the same.

The greatest parts of the inhabitants of Gondar differ from the Copts in their religion, although their patriarch was a Copt. No priest is allowed to have a *ream* in any parish of Gondar, unless the same professes the faith of the Echeggei.

April 7th. We left Ungarrau, and marched to Mariam Wor. Next day we marched over



Limalms, several of our people in the rear being killed by the inhabitants of the plundered and burned villages of Wogara, where we encamped for the night. Next day we marched to Shoadar, whence the Ras had marched to Inchetkaub; and on the day following we joined the Ras's army, encamped without that town, to which they had just set fire, and were waiting to see the best parts of Ras Guebra's premises consumed to the ground; these were reckoned the most extensive buildings belonging to any governor in Abyssinia.

April 11th. As we had begun our march purposely for the destruction of Behader and Sugernet, a great number of priests, belonging to Waldubba and to the different churches of Samen, met the Ras; Ras Guebra having sent a message by them to intreat the Ras to forgive him his misconduct, and he would wait upon him, with a stone slung about his neck, at Axum, as he had done on former occasions. The Ras, being persuaded by the priests that it was a great sin to shed so much blood, and to ruin the comfort of so many thousands of poor people, merely to revenge himself for the treachery of one man, gave way to their intreaties, and ordered the army to march by the same road we came into Samen, and appointed the day upon which Ras



Guebra should arrive at Axum. The same day a fine horse from Guxo, for his own riding, arrived as a present for the Ras. Guxo had obeyed the Ras's orders, by returning all the cattle that were not killed by the Worari to Ras Ilo, and had put him again in possession of the districts, agreed to in the treaty, and had himself arrived at Deverertavor, his capital, in Begemder. At this time messengers arrived from Ras Guebra, telling the Ras that Guebra had declared to them that he had never consented to visit Ras Welled Selassé at Axum, with a stone about his neck, and that this story had been invented by the priests themselves.

This intelligence enraged the Ras so much that he determined to return immediately, and accordingly he dispatched the troops of Enderta, to fetch one of the pieces of cannon brought thither by Mr. Salt. At the same time he had learned from some of Ras Guebra's favourite priests, that the king Tecla Gorgis had occasioned this last piece of deceit in Ras Guebra. It appeared that Tecla Gorgis was vexed with the Ras for not having put him upon the throne, and had contrived to make more mischief by privately sending to Ras Guebra, and telling him he would be guilty of a great folly to come to the Ras, who was so old and feeble that he could



scarcely mount his mule without help; and, that after he had once got beyond the Tacazzé, he would be bound for his not attempting to return; moreover adding, he would, upon his (the king's) arrival at Axum, send and persuade Subegadis to enter into the interior of Tigré. The Ras, on learning this intrigue, kept all in his own breast: and, upon the arrival of the gun and its carriage, with ammunition, &c., which were carried separately, so many men to a wheel, and the same to every separate part belonging to the carriage and ammunition, the gun was slung to a long pole, and a great number of men carried it with great difficulty over the mountains, every chief in his turn taking charge of it day by day. The drum was beat to give notice to all those who had gone to their respective districts to bring a supply of provisions for the use of the army, while it should be without plunder, and to intimate that they must be in camp by Baler Mariam. Tecla Gorgis endeavoured to persuade the Ras not to return, not knowing that he was fully acquainted with what he had practised against him, and, finding his advice neglected, told the Ras that he would return to Axum and there remain until the Ras should return from Samen to Enderta, where he would again meet him; but



the Ras told him that he could not spare Palam-barus Toclu, for without him he could not be provided for. The king made several other excuses to get to Axum, but the old Ras at last insisted upon his returning with him, and ordered his chiefs to look strictly after him; and he would not even allow him to send his wife, Ozoro Cottser, to Axum or Waldubba, as he had before promised.

Next day, we left the banks of the Tacazzé, and marched to Salumte, a district belonging to Ito Guebra Kedan, and the drum had been beaten to forbid plundering, Guebra Kedan being the husband of Ozoro Sarlu, the Ras's niece.

We marched next day for Behader. Ras Guebra had put people to work to stop the pass up the mountain, called Sankar Bar, which was always impassable in the ascent, if a few muskets were placed at the top to defend the passage; but he had now caused rocks to be broken down in the narrow cuts, so that it had become a mere precipice, and the first salute we had was a whole volley of musketry, when several of the Fit-aurari's people were killed. We were about three miles in the rear of the Fit-aurari when we heard the report of these muskets, which echoed along the mountains. The cry of "*Badinsah!*" was soon heard from all quarters, and though the rocks



were almost perpendicular and so high that it appeared impossible to ascend them for nearly three miles above the valley, yet the soldiers climbed up with the greatest agility and courage imaginable, though many were hurt, and I saw one fall from a great height, who broke his neck, but never dropped his spear or shield from his hands.

In about an hour a great many were seen upon the top, at both sides of the mountain, and appeared like monkeys ; we could scarcely hear their shouts, but could perfectly see their actions, though they could not be seen from this distance by the troops of Ras Guebra, who were defending the pass against the Fit-aurari. I stood by the Ras, who had been obliged, as well as myself, to alight from his mule and climb up the rocks on our hands and feet, every now and then looking at the soldiers, and wondering how they ascended so nimbly. The Ras remarked, "These Wojje-rats and Agows are devils ; not a man of Tigré could equal the worst of them for climbing up the rocks."—"Ah," said one of the Ras's *dug-gefys* (a man who always walks by the side of his mule to give ease to his legs, or arms, which he puts upon his shoulder, being a Tigré man) "if we had been obliged to climb up the rocks to get at the bee-hives, for their honey, from our infancy,



as the Wojjerats and Agows do, we should be as good climbers as they are ;" at which the old gentleman laughed, and kept looking first upon one side of the mountain, and then upon the other, watching the proceedings of the soldiers, who were running along the narrow ridges like Welsh goats. The firing was still kept up by the soldiers of Guebra defending the pass against the Fit-aurari, until they were entirely surrounded, as they had never dreamt that it was possible to ascend by any other passage than the one they defended ; they had therefore kept no look-out upon any other quarter than the narrow passage. But, when they found themselves surrounded, they were struck with a sudden panic, and the confusion into which they fell was lamentable, as they plainly saw that their enemies were double their own number. Scarcely a man escaped, as the Wojjerats kill all that fall in their power, both old and young. The Agows, if none of their own blood is spilt, will spare life, making those prisoners whom they take ; but when one of their own party drops, they will revenge him even upon an infant. Hundreds of Ras Guebra's soldiers dropped their arms and descended the pass, to get into the Fit-aurari's army for quarter, but numbers were killed in the attempt by the comrades of those who had been



shot. I never saw any thing so cruel; even the Ras pitied them, but he was too far in the rear to give orders to spare them. After the pass was cleared, it took us until dark to get through it, and then we encamped upon the mountain close by. Here I had the misfortune to lose three asses, out of the five I had left; and numbers of horses and mules, as well as asses, fell over the precipices and were dashed to atoms.

Next morning the Worari were off before daylight; and before we had marched an hour we could see the smoke of Behader, to which the Worari had set fire, though a good ten miles from the spot where we had encamped. At twelve o'clock we encamped about a mile from the burning town, where we stopped five days, until every village in that part of the country was burned to the ground, and all the *gudgauds*, [pits of corn] that were found were either taken or destroyed. We then marched to Sugernet, where we stopped ten days, and the corn we found there was in such abundance, that we could not destroy it otherwise than by throwing it into the water, or down the precipices of the mountains, where it could not be got at any more. We marched hence to Salem Ga, a Mahomedan town, which the Ras had ordered not to be burnt,



the inhabitants having brought him gold, silver, and cloths; but the farmers belonging to Ras Guebra and his chiefs were plundered.

We stopped at this place five days, and proceeded to the foot of Amba Hai, and although the distance is considerable, we could see from below the piles of stones, like little spires, all along the edges of the mountain. This mountain is very large, the plain on the top being said to be as large as the plain of Gambela, in Enderta, which is a good fifteen miles in length, and contains a vast number of springs, plenty of grass for cattle, much cultivated land, and two large towns, besides many villages. Ras Guebra has a house and extensive premises upon it, and the only thing that makes it disagreeable is the cold. The snow was still lodged deep in many of the narrow ravines, in the high rocks, and all over the place of encampment, although it was the hottest month in the year.

Here I was ordered to place the gun upon its carriage, which I did; but I told the Ras it would be of no use unless we could approach nearer, we being a good three miles and a half, in a straight line, from the gate of entrance, the only one to the mountain, and which was to be fired at. With the Ras's telescope I could see Ras Guebra, surrounded by his soldiers, sitting in the sun.



We stopped here several days, during which messengers were going backward and forward, and all the mischief Tecla Gorgis had been making was distinctly made known to the Ras by a worthy priest, belonging to Ras Guebra, who had kept a true account of what Tecla had been advising his master Guebra to do. It appeared that Tecla Gorgis had always had an aversion to the Ras and Bashaw Dingerze, a chief of Ras Michael's. The latter had given him a good whipping, when in Gondar, for getting upon his horse, and riding him, without his permission; and the Ras he disliked because he was attached to his brother Tecla Himanute, and despised him. The Ras did not show any kind of disrespect to the king, but on the contrary consulted him, as if in earnest, upon all occasions. Tecla, however, getting some knowledge that there were continually messengers passing between Ras Guebra and Welled Selassé, began to persuade the latter to make an attack, and storm the mountain as he had done twice before. This the Ras never meant to do, knowing that it would be attended with the loss of the greatest and bravest part of his army, whose blood would lie upon his own head; he having twice given the mountain up to Ras Guebra, when he might have placed it in the hands of some other chief on whom he could rely.



Samen being a large province, and governed by a king's *gama*, it was agreed that Tecla Gorgis, the king, should give the *gama* to any one of the Ras's chiefs he chose, as governor of Samen; accordingly the king, knowing that the Ras had great esteem for Shum Temben Guebra Michael, and that he was related to the family of Gusmarsh Tusfu, Ras Guebra's father, chose him to be governor. The drum was therefore beat, and it was proclaimed that Guebra Michael was Gusmarsh of all Samen, by the orders of the king Tecla Gorgis, and the *gama* was given to him by the king himself. The *gama* is a stripe of silk stuff, about the width of a broad ribbon, generally red and striped with some other colour, which is tied round the head of one or more of the king's servants, with a large silk rope round the neck, and hanging down the breast; this is called *quod*. When a Ras is chosen, or his office renewed, twelve young boys are equipped and sent to him in this manner. Those intrusted in this affair carry also, in a small calbash, a lion with a cross painted upon white cloth. This is an ancient custom among the Abyssinians, and to this day they oblige the king, either Guarlu or Tecla Gorgis, to send them the *gama* every year at Mascal, the customary day, which is upon the 17th of September; Guxo has it every year



from Guarlu, whom he keeps shut up, more like a prisoner at large than a king; and the Ras sometimes orders Guarlu and sometimes Tecla Gorgis to send it to him. *Gamas* are also given to chiefs who have a whole province under their command.

Messengers still kept going backward and forward, and Ras Welled Selassé sent his English double tent to Ras Guebra, as a present. This tent he esteemed very much, as it was brought, among other presents, by Mr. Salt. Ras Guebra sent in return several fat sheep and some fresh butter, remarkable for the goodness of its quality and the best in this part of the country. Coming from Amba Hai, he also sent to request that the Ras would fire his *mudfar* [cannon] which he had heard so much talk about, but at the same time begged he would do no harm with it; adding that he thought he could not do a great deal, being at such a distance, although he had heard that he could. The Ras complied with his request, and appointed the time, which was after dark next evening. I was ordered by the Ras to put in four or five cartridges, which I promised to do, but I did not, knowing, that if I said it would be too much, and perhaps burst the gun, the old gentleman would say that I was fearful; as, in the time of Gusmati



Woldi Gabriel, a poor Turk was killed by giving way to such a foolish command from an Abyssinian.

The story of this poor fellow is as follows :— A Greek, now in Abyssinia, a silversmith and coppersmith by trade, and a Turkish soldier, came into the country together. God knows how they found employment in the service of the Gusmati Woldi Gabriel: the silversmith was engaged in making crowns and crosses, and in casting bells for churches, &c., and the Turk was employed as a soldier; but, the poor fellow not being quite so expert as the Abyssinians in climbing and running up and down the mountains, the Gusmati found fault with him, and told him he was not active enough to be a soldier in his service. Ismael, which was his name, replied, “If you will make a cannon, I shall be of more use to you than a hundred men or even a thousand.”—“Who can make it?” said the Gusmati. “Avostalla, the Greek,” said the Turk; when accordingly the Greek was sent for, and, by the persuasion of the Gusmati, consented to make the experiment, and orders were given to buy all the brass in the country. In the course of three months every thing was completed, and the gun was cast accordingly, and a carriage built such as the country workmen, under the direction



of Ismael, could make. He fired the cannon at first with a small charge, which answered very well. This was done in the market-place of Adowa, where every body was afraid to be near but himself; and well it was they were so timid, for the Gusmati, who was sitting in front of his house upon the hill, to witness the proceedings of Ismael, and who heard the explosion, sent word to him that he had been afraid to put enough powder in, and that the report was not louder than that of a musket. Ismael accordingly put in a large charge, and a large piece of cloth for wadding, and, upon his firing the gun, it burst into a number of pieces. The poor fellow's legs and arms were broken in several places, and his bowels cut out; part of the carriage was found slung in the large *darro*-tree, opposite the church, Kudus Michael, nearly four hundred yards from the spot where the piece burst. Hadge Nuro, now head-carpenter to the Ras, who assisted to make the carriage, told me that he was standing about fifty yards off at the time, and witnessed the accident. With this example before my eyes, I put into the gun no more than the usual charge of powder, and a single ball, and proceeded to fire it. I was at this time with the main army of the Ras, encamped upon a very high mountain opposite to Amba Hai, where Ras Guebra had concentrated



all his forces. A deep valley lay between the two armies, about three miles across in a direct line, in which our Fit-aurari, or advanced guard, was stationed, so that on my firing the gun at the main gate, that defended the difficult pass into Amba Hai, the shot passed directly over the heads of that part of our army lying in the valley.

As it was not my wish to hit the gate, I had previously pointed the gun in such a manner as to make the ball take effect considerably below the gate; but the sensation it produced on both armies, from its luminous appearance in its passage, and the tremendous echoes that succeeded among the mountains, was very great and decisive, as far as regarded the enemy.

The next morning Ras Guebra sent some presents to the Ras, as well as to me; requesting the Ras, at the same time, to permit me to visit him, as he had several questions to ask me relative to the gun; and he also wished me to instruct some of his men in the mode of putting up the tent sent to him two days before, none of his own people being able to pitch it. The Ras, having his suspicions, replied, that though Guebra was welcome to the assistance of any one else in his army, yet, that he could not part with his white son, as he was accustomed to call me, as he



always wished to have him immediately about his own person. Having sent this message, the Ras desired me to dismount the gun, and get the different parts put up ready for carrying again.

May 24th. The holyday Ouner Takley Himanute. We marched, and descended into the valley of Sugernet; the Ras kept the king close in his front, for fear he might desert and get to Wal-dubba, and there produce more mischief than ever, by sending messengers to Guxo, &c. Next day we marched to Moi Ga, where we stopped, it being Sunday, and the following day marched to the Tacazzé, which we crossed on the 27th, and reached Overgalle, where we stopped a day, to settle the affairs of that district, as it belonged to Ras Guebra.

June 1st. We marched to Agova: next day to Aterer Marts, and the next to Arde Darro.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Pearce's Journal resumed—His Return to the Camp and Reception by the Ras—Cry for the Ras's brother—Pearce's Grass taken by the King—Church of Chelicut—The Organ—Expedient for Scaring Grass-Stealers—Rage of the King—The Ras's Buffoon—Buffoons kept by the Chiefs, and their Duties—The King dines with the Ras—Person and Character of King Tecla Gorgis—His Treachery—His Departure for Axum—Hail-Storm—Devastations of Elephants.

JUNE 3rd, 1815. I set out to meet the Ras at Saharte, and in the evening I arrived at his camp, in the plain called Arde Darro. Every one, as well as the Ras, was glad to see me recovered and in perfect health, continually saluting me with the common words used upon such meetings, after sickness, battle, or any danger, meaning, "Glory to God that brought you out!" As soon as I had alighted from my mule, I hastened to the tent of Mr. Coffin, where I found him smoking his pipe, in good health and apparently comfortable. We then went to the Ras together; he had been informed of the death of my son before I entered, and, on seeing me, he uttered the customary words, used among all Abyssinians, when they meet with a friend who



has lately buried any of his family. "*Isgare Sennarkar !*" [I hope God is great towards you]. These words are also used at the breaking-up of a cry, to the relations of the deceased, who collect on a spot by themselves, while all those who are well-wishers come, one at a time, and repeat the above sentence, which is answered by thanks. It is a great affront, and always remembered as a sign of hatred, if this ceremony should be neglected by any acquaintance.

The Ras expressed much grief at the death of the boy, as he had several times sent for him and taken him into his favour. After I had been seated some time he asked me, among other questions, where Debbib was, and if I had been to see him lately. I said I had not; when he inquired, "Did he not come to cry for your boy?" I said, he did not. "I am afraid," he continued, "something has happened to him, for he has not sent me any message for a long time, and then he was very ill." However, the old gentleman kept on playing at chess, which he often does while his supper is on the table, seldom rising quickly from the game unless his appetite is keener than usual. He will even hear lawsuits when playing. At supper he asked me several questions concerning the peace between Subegadis and Giggar: he had already sent to take



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Asgas Giggar, but the latter, on hearing of the return of the Ras, had decamped and crossed the Tacazzé, by way of Mardier.

Next morning we marched, and encamped at Esta. The king remained in the same position that he had occupied before, with scarcely twenty people to attend upon him; seeing there were no hopes of his ever prospering, the others had all deserted him, and taken other masters. Here the Ras, who had ordered the Tigré army to march by way of Temben to their respective districts, could not conceive why they had not obeyed his orders, and sent for Palambarus Toclù to inquire into the matter, who told him that the troops had all been dismissed, and that the chiefs were only going to Antàlo upon affairs of their own. Aversaw, the governor of Antàlo, and the Ras's nephew, and Dofter Caslo, his head secretary and treasurer, came to meet him, but not a word was spoken about his brother Debbib, though the Ras really knew of his death. Perceiving that his people wished to keep it a secret till he arrived at Antàlo, he took care not to betray his knowledge of it, or to show that he suspected any thing of the kind. Next morning the army marched into Antàlo, and halted when they reached the market-place, where the priests came to meet the Ras as he entered the town,



and told him of the death of his brother. From that time the cries and the firing of muskets began in all parts of the town, and never did I see such downright folly. The multitude of people was so great that it was impossible to pass the streets, and the walls and tops of the houses were covered with persons of both sexes, young and old. It is the custom, in all parts of Abyssinia, for the women to cheer their chief, when passing, with a singular whining noise, especially when returning from war, but this day the noise was inexpressibly shocking. The Ras himself strove to do what he could to put an end to such folly, but to no purpose; there was not an individual to be seen but with his face torn, and scratched, and covered with blood. The Ras had never been guilty of this barbarous practice since I knew him, having heard from Mr. Salt and myself that it was a sin against Christianity. The cry was held three days. Safarling Guebra Abba, one of the most powerful chiefs on the frontiers of the Galla, died a few days before, and, as he was a great favourite with the Ras, the cry was united with that made for Ito Debbib.

As soon as the cry was over, the Ras gave me and Mr. Coffin leave to go to Chelicut, where my wife had prepared a feast for us and our people,



according to the custom of the country. All neighbours were invited, and kept up the feast for several days, in great glee.

June 12th. The Ras and the king came to Chelicut, to spend the fast of the Apostles. The next morning the king visited his daughter, and rode round Chelicut to see the Ras's gardens and my house. His majesty particularly admired my meadow, the grass being very high at that time, which was the more remarkable as it was the dry season; he even took such a fancy to it, that he gave his servants orders to cut some of the grass daily for his horses' food while he remained at Chelicut. This did not please me, and I accordingly told him that no person should cut it, as the meadow belonged to me; upon which he sent and informed the Ras of the affair, and the Ras sent for me, and told me that the king would not remain at Chelicut long, and therefore, he begged me, in order to put an end to disputes, and gratify his majesty, to let one of his grass-cutters cut a load for him every day and no more. To this I willingly consented, and the Ras sent to the king, to inform him that the piece of ground on which the grass grew was given to Pearce on oath, and that of course neither he himself nor any one else could cut the grass, or even go across the field, without Pearce's



consent; though, in consideration of his majesty, the latter had consented to let him have a load every day for the use of his horses; at this the king appeared to be a little out of humour.

I afterwards conducted the king to the head church, to show him the articles presented to the Ras by Mr. Salt; he expressed great surprise at the workmanship of the marble table, and the picture, saying, "Ras Welled Selassé has surpassed the ancient kings of Ethiopia for grandeur, and even brought the Feringees to *gibber*, [tribute] then looking round to me, with his large eyes fixed stedfastly upon me, he said in a disdainful tone: "Pearce, do not the people of your country lose their heads if they deny their king any thing, as for example his own grass?" "If it were his that was denied him," I replied, "certainly, but none but a madman would do that; though, if it were not his own," I added, "he would pay the current price for it, as other people do." "How," said he, "can he be king, if every blade of grass in the kingdom is not his?" "Yes," said I, "he can be a king for all that, for he is always a good Christian, and such a one knows that God gave all men the same right of living upon earth, which was made for man alone, and that he, as king, was to be a guard against taking one from another, and not to take from them himself."



"You Feringees are cunning dogs," said he. "Brave and true," replied I. The organ, which Mr. Coffin had just begun to turn, next took his attention; he stood several minutes looking at it, at last went close to it, looked at the inside, and appeared quite lost in contemplation. "I hear it breathe," said he, several times, and as, upon putting his ear close, he could hear a hiss now and then, occasioned by there being a small hole in the leather on one side of the bellows, he cried out, "By Saint Michael, there is a snake in it! I hear it plainly;" and quickly drawing back, he exclaimed, "Such a thing which contains a devil cannot be fit for a church." Allicar Barhe, the high-priest, standing close by, said, "Ganvar, I beg your pardon, it is an angel, not a devil; our church has not suffered in any way since it came into it, but on the contrary has rather increased in prosperity. Ito Pearce has opened the whole before the *carmart* [congregation of priests] and all are of opinion that nothing but the wisdom of man, such as God gave unto Solomon, had made it;" and he added, "Abuna Comfu told us that he saw one in the church of St. Paulos and Petros, in Rome, as large as twenty of this." After we had shown him every thing, he returned, greatly astonished at what he had seen, to his house, which was not far from mine. The man



who looked after my meadow told me that several of Itsa Tecla Gorgis's men had been there, and wanted to cut grass by force. "But I cried out," he said, "*Ber Tecla Amlach, Ber Segar Itsa,*" meaning, By the substance of Tecla, by the flesh of the king, you shall not cut it! a mode they have of expressing resistance to oppression; yet even then they would scarcely let the grass alone.

Next day I was informed that several loads had been stolen from the middle of the meadow during the night, which greatly vexed me and my servant, and I determined in consequence to plan some scheme of revenge. I told the Ras what had happened at supper-time, and the scheme we proposed highly pleased him, as he would have something to make a laugh of at dinner next day, especially as Tottamasey, the Ras's clown, was to be there. So, after it was well dark, knowing that the Amhara are terribly frightened at fire-arms, we placed several of our men, at different distances, round the meadow, each with his musket well loaded with blank cartridges, and gave them directions to lie close in the high grass until they should hear the first one fire. We put out the lights in the house just as the moon was rising, to give the appearance of our being asleep, and we sat over the gateway



of the house that looked towards the meadow. I and Mr. Coffin, with two or three who we knew could run well, took off our white cloths that we might not be seen, and put on skins and went to the part where we had observed nine or ten men cross the river, and go into the middle of the field. After we had got as near to them as possible, and had seen them cutting away, without dreaming of what would happen, we let fly, and it is impossible to describe the confusion into which the poor fellows were thrown. They dropped their cloths and skins, and ran as fast as possible to the opposite side of the meadow, where they had another gun or two fired at them, at which they ran some one way and some another, but, whichever way they went, they had a gun fired at them; three of them dropped down as if shot dead, through fear, the others cried out *Serlassey! Serlassey!* and crossed the river, and got clear of us, but three of their companions, their reaping-hooks, cloths, and skins, remained in our possession. These three we took prisoners to our house, and tied them fast together; while those who had escaped ran to the king's house, quite naked, telling a most lamentable story to the servants, who were all awakened by their noise, and a cry was soon set up by the whole household for the three, whom,



as they declared, Pearce and his soldiers had shot.

The king, being awakened by the cry, and being informed of the matter, flew into a violent rage, and sent to the Ras, declaring that one of the men shot by the Feringee, though poor, was related to him, and that he demanded blood for blood. The Ras, though he could scarcely refrain from laughing, pretended to be greatly concerned, and said, that at day-light he would enquire into the matter, adding, "If I send to fetch them now it will only make bad worse, for they have powder and shot enough to shoot every man I have." The king, who had himself persuaded the grass-cutters to steal our grass, never lay down all the remainder of the night, swearing he would have life for life, otherwise he would raise the priests against the Ras. Meanwhile his men were getting quite intoxicated, and at sunrise I gave them their cloths, reaping-hooks, &c., and a good draught of brandy each, and sent them staggering away to their master, where they arrived just as he was pressing the Ras to attack my house. Their appearance incensed Tecla ten times worse than before, thinking he had been deprived of a night's rest, and given me and Mr. Coffin reason to think him our enemy.

At dinner Tottamasey began by pretending he



had really seen the Amhara in their fright ; he put on such pitiable looks and dying postures, mimicking the Amhara who thought themselves dead when they fell, that the Ras could scarcely taste a morsel all the time for laughing at the buffoon and the numerous chiefs who were sitting about him with their mouths full, staring and affecting the motions of Tottamasey. This personage is very old, but a remarkably lively man, and was the head harlequin to Ras Michael. The governors of the provinces commonly keep several persons of this kind, to divert them at feasts and upon holydays, and they have the income of a district allowed them for their maintenance. They are in general good poets, and run, or ride, before their chief when going from or to war, descanting in poetry, and in a loud voice, to the chief and his troops, upon the reward of bravery ; the redemption of the sins of a soldier, who dies in the presence of his master in the field of glory ; the curse which God sends upon those who flinch or run away, and many such subjects, to keep up and stimulate the courage of the soldiers. These people are called in the Amhara language Ozmare, in Tigré Warta ; the enemy never kill them if taken in battle, any more than they do trumpeters and fifers, if Christians ; but the Galla spare no one in war.



The Ras remained here until the conclusion of the fast, which is on the 5th of July, on which day he invited the king to dine with him, as also on the 7th, which is the great holyday, called Hamley Selassé, or the anniversary of the Holy Trinity appearing to the Patriarch Abraham before Sodom and Gomorrah were burnt. On this day the king dined with the Ras, who sat upon the carpets spread upon the ground; the king was seated upon the high sofa, and no person of the court was allowed to sit down, until the king had done eating, after which he pointed out such of the chiefs as should eat. I had been sitting with Mr. Coffin close behind the Ras, from the time the table was spread, but we had not tasted any thing, except what the Ras was pleased to cram now and then into our mouths. It is very common at the table of any chief in Abyssinia, for him to order the *selafé*, that is the man or woman who is feeding him, to give food to those who are sitting near him; but this is not the custom with Tecla Gorgis, who eats ravenously, and always has a man to hold a screen before his face, to hinder him from noticing any person; indeed he is the only one I knew of so selfish a disposition. In his personal appearance he looks quite the reverse; he is tall, and stout in proportion, always wears his hair long



and plaited ; has large eyes, a Roman nose, not much beard, and a very manly and expressive countenance, though he is a great coward. He has a dark shining skin, which is very singular, as the king Itsa Yohannes, and his wife, Ozoro Sancheviyer, Tecla's father and mother, were very fair for Abyssinians, and Tecla Himanute, his brother, was also very fair, while he, the youngest son, is as dark as mahogany. The Ras, who knew the whole family, often remarked this, and repeated " Black without, and black within." The character of Tecla, through life, has been abominable : he is by all accounts sixty-six years of age, though he makes his age much less, as, in general, the Abyssinians dislike to be reckoned old when they really are so, and none either of the higher or lower classes know their own age exactly. They keep no account from the year, or month, in which they were born, but from the time that such a king, Ras, Gusmarsh, or governor of the province to which they belong, reigned or governed. Thus, when you ask any one how old he is, he will tell you that he was born in the reign of such a king, or Ras, &c., leaving you to find out how many years ago that may be, and the nearest account you can get from him is, that he was born in the beginning, middle, or end of their reign.



Tecla Gorgis is remarkably proud of his person: though a little bald at the top of his head, he manages to have the hair, which is nearly a span long, so plaited and disposed as to hide the bald part. He always wears a silver or gold bodkin with a large head, called *wolever*, upon his forehead; and round the instep, and below the ancle, a string of oval silver or gold beads, such as are worn by all women rich and poor, and which are called *aloo*.

It may be here proper to give some account of this once great emperor's character, which I intend to draw according to what I have heard, not only by word of mouth from numbers, but also from his history at Axum, and my own observations. I shall begin by stating, in plain English, that he is a great liar and a great miser, and from his childhood has been remarkable for his changeable and deceitful temper, and utter disregard of his oath. When suspicious of any of his people, it was his habit to send privately to them, telling them, whatever they were concerned in, to let him know all, as he himself had learnt somewhat of their proceedings from people who were continually putting bad things into his head; the poor offenders, who took all this for truth, would beg his majesty to swear to forgive them, a customary practice in Abyssinia on such



occasions. Tecla never hesitated about taking the oath, but would immediately kiss the cross when presented to him by the priest, who had the management of the sacred affair, and, as soon as he was gone from his presence, would say to the officers who attended upon his person, "See, I scrape from my tongue, which made the oath and touched the cross, all it has uttered," and so saying he would put his tongue between his teeth, and, drawing it in, would spit, and exclaim, "When the rebel comes, do your duty as I shall order you." In this manner he has brought his subjects even from the Galla, where they had fled for protection, fearing his treachery. Comfu Adam, governor of Begemder, and a near relation to the king, was trepanned in this manner, and had his tongue cut out on his arrival. The Gusmati Woldi Gabriel, son of Ras Michael, who was on terms of the greatest friendship with him, and had marched from Tigré to assist him against Ras Ilo and Marro, who had rebelled against Tecla, and almost driven him from Gondar, became, after conquering all Gojam and the neighbouring districts that had been concerned in the rebellion, an object of jealousy in the eyes of the king; who, after inventing his treacherous schemes, and swearing and releasing the rebels, who he well knew would be glad to take revenge



on Woldi Gabriel, sent for him, apparently in a friendly manner, and on his arrival at court said to him, "Woldi Gabriel, I have made up my mind to go to Shoa, and take the Tigré army with me." This surprised the Gusmati, who imagined it to be a joke; however, seeing the king in earnest, he represented to him that the Tigré troops were already much tired and numbers of them sick, and that he had, on the conclusion of the war, dismissed more than ten thousand to their respective districts, as he had promised him that he should return to Tigré. He added, "I could never attempt to take my army through a country inhabited only by Pagans. What village would receive our lame and sick? Would they not all be murdered by my own hands, if I were to commit such an act of folly?" The king answered, "Why do you consider the death of a fly?" "Fly," said Woldi Gabriel, "if my soldiers are but flies, I am naught but a large fly." "If you are no more than a fly," said the king, "you are not able to serve me." He immediately ordered the very rebels whom Woldi had conquered to lay hold of him and bind him, and the whole of his troops were stripped of every thing, and some, in attempting to escape, were killed. Woldi Gabriel was kept in chains, until he brought the last article of value he possessed,



to ransom himself, while his brave troops had to find their way home, over the cold mountains of Samen, without either cloths or skins to cover their nakedness.

Tecla Gorgis, though thought to be a very learned man in the Scriptures, sets the worst of examples to Christians, for, notwithstanding his professed religious principles, he is the greatest adulterer in existence. Though he keeps Ozoro Cottser and Ozoro Teschen as regular wives, he has, in general, when at home, ten or twelve other women in the same house, parted off like so many mules or horses. He pays no respect to beauty, nor scarcely to age, no matter whether it be a lady, a beggar, or a nun. He has a number of children in all parts of the country, some by women of the lowest class, many of whom are grown up and are great vagabonds.

The Ras by this time had become tired of the king's conduct and company, and, fearing he might corrupt the morals of his daughter, on the 9th July he ordered him to march for Axum, notwithstanding the rains which had begun, and which rendered the roads very bad, and also gave directions how the king should be provided for, allowing him a certain income to be administered to him by Palambaru Toclū, whom the Ras had secretly charged to keep a strict watch upon



his motions, and not let him escape from Axum, though, until the conclusion of the rains, it would be impossible for him to pass the Tacazzé to Waldubba. I went with the Ras, who accompanied him, as far as Arder Cola, and Mr. Coffin rode my horse, by desire of the king, who told him that he had heard a great deal of talk about it. In fact he was highly pleased, and declared it to be a better horse than the Ras's favourite Bulla. This horse was given to me by the Ras, at the last request of Mr. Salt, when taking his parting leave; although the Gusmarsh Liban, who had given it to the Ras, had made him promise to keep it for his own riding, and none but Mr. Salt could have prevailed upon him to break this promise. On our taking leave of the king to return, he said to me and Mr. Coffin, "After the rains are over come and pay me a visit at Axum; we shall some day or another be great friends." On our return the Ras seemed to be quite merry, and more lively than he had been for some days past, a sign that he was glad he had got rid of his troublesome guest. He remained at Chelicut, and there kept his fast of fifteen days for the Blessed Virgin.

August 19th. We had a very heavy fall of hail and rain, which lasted an uncommonly long time. Unluckily for me I had two calves and



fifty-three goats, belonging to me and Mr. Coffin, washed away by the flood, which, in return, filled our meadow with a quantity of large trees, that it had rooted out from the banks of the river. Several of these were left within twenty yards of my house, and the wood was sufficient to last us at least two years and a half or three years for our own use; but we distributed some among our neighbours. It is a law in Abyssinia that if Providence sends you any thing by a flood, such as a tree or piece of timber of any kind, even if it has been already cut, it belongs to the owner of the field upon which it is found; but if it be not found upon cultivated ground, then the person who first finds it has a right to it. Until this day we had had very moderate rains, such as were required for the growth of the corn, &c., indeed the corn was in a very thriving state, but wanted a little more rain; but this last rain did more harm than good, for in our part the hail cut the young grass and almost destroyed it, and with it our future hopes of a good harvest.

August 29th. The Ras went to Mucculla, where he kept his new year's day, on the 1st of September, and the holyday of Kudus Yohannis, Saint John's day. Here he remained until the 11th, when he visited the spot of Abba Annernier, with all his troops, as is customary every year.



September the 14th. We returned to Chelicut, and, on the 16th, after receiving my fat Mascal cow as usual, I and Mr. Coffin, as in other years, mustered all our people dressed in their warlike habit, and accompanied the Ras to Antàlo. The Enderta troops were reviewed the same day, and luckily we were among them, as no musket-men were allowed to be present on the occasion, on account of the accidents that happened before, as I have already related. Nothing particular took place this Mascal between the Ras and his chiefs, excepting the affair of Asgas Giggar, who had gone into the service of Ras Guebra, and whose districts the Ras gave to Palambarus Toclu and to Ito Sanna.

October the 10th. We went to Lama. Here we found, as the Ras had been previously informed, that the elephants and rhinoceroses had broken down the fences round the church, trampled all the vines and ruined the corn, which had been in great perfection. It is well known in Shiré and several other parts of Abyssinia, as well as here, where elephants frequent, that they pluck up the young corn and trample it, as if done on purpose and out of mischief. The poor monks had quitted the church and fled to the caves and mountains, but their last year's stock not being hurt, they had plenty of provisions, which they had taken



care to carry with them to their new abode. The Ras thought it would be only folly to repair the fence again, for it was certain the elephants would destroy it as fast as it was repaired. He therefore told the monks to do their best for the future and look out for themselves, and soon left the place and went to Mucculla. On our way the hunters killed numbers of partridges and guinea-fowl, and some wild hogs or boars. The whole country being at peace, the Ras remained quiet, hearing lawsuits and playing at chess, his favourite pastime.

This is perhaps a good opportunity to give some account of the manners, customs, &c. of the Abyssinians, acquired from my own long experience, and by carefully observing all classes.



## CHAPTER IX.

Character, Manners, and Customs, of the Abyssinians—Their Complexion—Precarious nature of the Matrimonial tie—Masters and Servants—Mechanics—Extraordinary Superstition respecting the Potters and workers in Iron—Supposed to have the Power of Transforming themselves into Hyenas—The Zackary—Persons possessed with Evil Spirits—Cure for that Disorder—Case of Pearce's Wife—Diseases—Treatment in Small-pox—Four Species of Venereal Complaint—Medicines—Scrophula—The Tape-worm—Wild Honey—Lying-in Women—Ceremony of Christening—Whimsical Practice to preserve Children from dying—Marriage—Divorce—Law-suits—Wagers.

THE Abyssinians vary much in their colour, some being very black, with nearly straight hair, others copper-coloured, and the hair not so straight, some much fairer with almost woolly hair, and some of the same complexion, but straight-haired. They also vary much in their temper, and, as is the case in all countries and classes of people, they are mild, passionate, barbarous, compassionate, true and false, proud and miserly, even in the same family. This can scarcely be otherwise, especially in towns governed by governors and petty chiefs, where you may find women the mothers of five, six, or more children ;



the father of one an Amhara, of another an Agow, of another a Tigré, and of another a Galla. Indeed, I know many people of quality who can give no account of their fathers; but this is most common among the lower classes of the people, and is occasioned by the continual alteration in the government. A man in a town or village may take a wife with whom he may wish to live all his life, and, when he is perhaps getting comfortably settled, the governor whom he serves is driven from his office and another appointed in his stead. The new governor immediately seizes every person's land and property belonging to or in the service of the ex-governor, which he gives to one of his own soldiers or followers; while the former owner is obliged to fly to another district for refuge, leaving his wife and children, if he has any, in her native place. She will soon get another husband, while her last, if he prospers, finding another master, will also marry another wife. Soldiers quit their master's service as they please, and go from province to province, and from governor to governor, as they think proper, and for their advantage, whether Amhara or Tigré, being quite regardless if it is to the most malicious enemy of their former master, as punishment is seldom inflicted for such offences. Indeed, the *wotada* [soldiers of Abys-



sinia] are seldom settled for many months together, unless it be those who are in the service of a governor who rules over the very village in which they were born. These in general cultivate land, and live comfortably without paying the usual income of a peasant to government; though, were he to neglect one encampment or any march made by his governor, either in the service of his king, or Ras, or upon his own account, every thing that he has is seized, and then he must look out for another master in another district, or live in his native village or town as a peasant.

All their arms, such as spears, shields, and knives, the soldiers find for themselves, but matchlocks are the property of their masters; so, when they wish to desert, they hang their gun up in their master's house and depart. Although there would not be the least chance of the master's recovering a gun if a soldier should take it and desert to an enemy, yet, I never knew any thing of the kind happen, not even when they have quitted their master's premises in a rage to go over to the enemy. They frequently return after being some months away, and their master, in general, after swearing a few petty oaths not to allow them admittance, makes it up, and they enter with a large stone upon their necks, bowing



with their foreheads to the ground, and again become as familiar with their master on the first day as they were the day they deserted him. In this manner each chief becomes acquainted with the others' actions, their way of living, their tempers, their family concerns, whether mean or splendid, and their disposition towards women. Indeed, they are all very particular in enquiring into the very closest connections of one another's families, especially when at enmity; and these matters often become the subject of their talk when sitting over their *bruly*, or horn of maize.

It is well known to numbers, as well as to myself, that a chief will sometimes command a servant in whom he has great confidence to desert him, and go and live with one with whom he is at enmity, purposely to become acquainted with all his connections; and, to make it appear that the servant is really dismissed, his master, who has put him up to every thing that he wants him to do, will, upon the day appointed, affect to be in a great rage with him in the presence of numbers of bystanders, ordering him to be stripped of the small piece of cloth about his waist, the only thing they wear about them, and beaten, and turned out of his premises. The servant, hearing the order, drops his cloth and runs off naked, and soon after finds his way to the house of his mas-



ter's enemy, who is highly pleased at the opportunity of possessing a once trusty servant in adversity ; and, upon seeing the servant naked and with the apparent marks of a whip, which he had inflicted upon himself by scratching upon his skin, feels sure of the quarrel having really happened, and gives him a cloth, as is customary in all parts of Abyssinia, and throughout all classes of the inhabitants. The Abyssinians are very partial to new acquaintances, and in consequence the new-comer is the greatest *balermal*, or favourite, in the family. Some of these rogues will remain a whole year even, and when they at last quit, they do not immediately return to their original master, but will keep about his premises at a distance for some time, begging every chief who visits the house to entreat their master to forgive them, which is done to prevent the chief whom they have been living with, and who perhaps may not reside at a great distance, from suspecting the scheme.

The people who live in the larger sort of towns, and especially the mechanics, in general lead the most undisturbed life, and are considered the best Christians. Those who work in silver and gold, in brass, or at the carpenters' trade, are esteemed as persons of high rank ; but those who work in iron or pottery are not allowed the privilege



even of being in common society, nor are they permitted to receive the sacrament as Christians. They are reckoned even by their nearest neighbours to have the supernatural power of changing themselves into hyænas\* or other beasts, and upon that account every body dreads them. All

\* It is very difficult to trace the foundation of this singular superstition, which is most implicitly believed by every Abyssinian, and which Mr. Coffin himself speaks of with a degree of seriousness that can scarcely be wondered at after the almost inexplicable facts that have come immediately under his own knowledge. These Budas, or workers in iron and pottery, are distinguished, it appears, from other classes, by a peculiar gold ear-ring, which is worn by the whole race, and which kind of ring, Mr. Coffin declares, he has frequently seen in the ears of hyænas that have been shot in traps or speared by himself and others; but in what manner these ornaments came to be placed in so singular a situation, Mr. Coffin, who has taken considerable pains to investigate the subject, has never been able to obtain the slightest clue to discover. Besides the power which it is supposed these Budas possess of transforming themselves, at will, into hyænas and some other animals, though the former seems to be their favourite shape, many strange stories are told of the diseases they are able to inflict on their enemies through their evil eye; and so fully convinced are the Abyssinians, that these unfortunate blacksmiths are in the habit of defrauding the grave of its dues, in their midnight *masquerades*, that no one will venture to eat what is called *quanter*, or dried meat, in their houses; though they have not the smallest repugnance to sit down with them to a repast of *raw meat*, where the killing of the animal before their eyes dissipates at once their former horrible illusion.

I shall here add one story respecting these Budas, related to me by Mr. Coffin, to the circumstances of which he may be said to have been nearly an eye-witness. It happened that among his servants he had hired one of these Budas, who, one evening, but when it was perfect day-light, came to



convulsions or hysteric disorders, which are as common in Abyssinia as in other parts of the world, are here attributed to the evil eye of these people. They are called by the Amhara *Buda*, and by the Tigré *Tebbib*. Many marvellous deeds done by them have been related to me by persons

request his master to give him leave of absence till the morning. This request was immediately granted, and the young man took his leave; but scarcely was Mr. Coffin's head turned to his other servants, when some of them called out, pointing in the direction the Buda had taken, "Look, look, he is turning himself into a hyæna!" Mr. Coffin instantly looked round, but though he certainly did not witness the transformation, yet the young man had vanished, and he saw a large hyæna running off at about a hundred paces distance. This happened in an open plain, without tree or bush to intercept the view. The young man returned in the morning, and was attacked by his companions on the subject of his change, which he rather affected to countenance than deny, according to the usual practice of his brethren.

From the latter circumstance, I should be inclined to imagine that the belief in the above superstitious notions is, from some motive or other, purposely fostered by the Budas themselves. The trades they follow are some of the most lucrative in the country, and, as they are both exclusively in the hands of particular families, in whom the right of exercising them descends from father to son, it appears probable that, in order to render themselves more secure from all chance of competition, they may wish to envelope themselves in darkness and mystery, and even place the ornaments above-mentioned in the ears either of the young hyænas they may take, or the old ones they can entrap, and then dismiss them to the wilderness, with their newly acquired embellishments. I mentioned this idea to Mr. Coffin, who seemed to think the conjecture more than probable, and promised on his return to the country to do every thing in his power to ascertain the fact. It is, however, but fair to own, that he says he never saw a very young hyæna with the ornaments in question.—*Editor*.



of superior intelligence of both sexes, which, however ridiculous, may serve to illustrate the superstitious character of the people in this part of the world. Although these Budas are obliged to put up with reproaches and all manner of scorn from other Christians, and even their nearest neighbours, yet they are partial to that religion, and, though not allowed the sacrament, keep the whole of the fasts and Lents as strictly as any Christians in the country. There are, indeed, Mahometan and Jew Budas, and, as I have before said, all that work in iron and pottery are deemed such. What this whimsical notion sprang from I never could learn. Gojam is the province supposed to contain most of them.

The Zackary are another extraordinary set of beings: though esteemed good Christians, I have myself seen them go roaring about the towns, making a most dreadful noise, and being apparently in great trouble, whipping themselves, and at times cutting their flesh with knives. These people are most numerous in the province of Tigré, and they have a church which is resorted to by none but themselves; it is at no great distance from Axum, and is dedicated to their saint, Oun Arvel. They are very proud of styling themselves descendants of Saint George. In their church Oun Arvel they pretend that a light burns



continually without the assistance of human aid. I have more than once watched an opportunity to blow this light out, but those in care of it were too attentive to their duty to let me succeed, though I once effected my purpose in pointing out a similar imposition of these priests at Jummer-a-Mariam in Lasta.

There is also a holy water at the church Oun Arvel, which is greatly esteemed for the cure of persons afflicted with evil spirits. This is a very wonderful disorder, which I cannot pass over in silence, though the reader may think it fabulous and ridiculous; yet we have accounts of something of the same kind in the New Testament, which the priests and learned men of Abyssinia believe to be the same complaint. This complaint is called *tigretier*; it is more common among the women than among the men. The *tigretier* seizes the body as if with a violent fever, and from that turns to a lingering sickness, which reduces the patients to skeletons and often kills them, if the relations cannot procure the proper remedy. During this sickness their speech is changed to a kind of stuttering, which no one can understand but those afflicted with the same disorder. When the relations find the malady to be the real *tigretier*, they join together to defray the expenses of curing it; the first remedy they



in general attempt, is to procure the assistance of a learned Dofter, who reads the Gospel of St. John, and drenches the patient with cold water daily for the space of seven days—an application that very often proves fatal. The most effectual cure, though far more expensive than the former, is as follows. The relations hire for a certain sum of money a band of trumpeters, drummers, and fifers, and buy a quantity of liquor; then all the young men and women of the place assemble at the patient's house, to perform the following most extraordinary ceremony.

I once was called in by a neighbour to see his wife, a very young woman, and of whom he was very fond, who had the misfortune to be afflicted with this disorder; and the man being an old acquaintance of mine, and always a close comrade in the camp, I went every day, when at home, to see her, but I could not be of any service to her, though she never refused my medicines. At this time I could not understand a word she said, although she talked very freely, nor could any of her relations understand her. She could not bear the sight of a book or a priest, for at the sight of either she struggled, and was apparently seized with acute agony, and a flood of tears, like blood mingled with water, would pour down her face from her eyes. She had lain



three months in this lingering state, living upon so little that it seemed not enough to keep a human body alive; at last her husband agreed to employ the usual remedy, and, after preparing for the maintenance of the band, during the time it would take to effect the cure, he borrowed from all his neighbours their silver ornaments, and loaded her legs, arms, and neck, with them.

The evening that the band began to play, I seated myself close by her side as she lay upon the couch, and, about two minutes after the trumpets had begun to sound, I observed her shoulders begin to move, and soon afterwards her head and breast, and in less than a quarter of an hour she sat upon her couch. The wild look she had, though sometimes she smiled, made me draw off to a greater distance, being almost alarmed to see one nearly a skeleton move with such strength; her head, neck, shoulders, hands, and feet, all made a strong motion to the sound of the music, and in this manner she went on by degrees until she stood up on her legs upon the floor. Afterwards she began to dance, and at times to jump about, and at last, as the music and noise of the singers increased, she often sprang three feet from the ground. When the music slackened, she would appear quite out of temper, but, when it became louder, she would smile and be delighted. During



this exercise she never shewed the least symptom of being tired, though the musicians were thoroughly exhausted; and when they stopped to refresh themselves by drinking and resting a little, she would discover signs of discontent.

Next day, according to the custom in the cure of this disorder, she was taken into the market-place, where several jars of *maize* or *tsug* were set in order by the relations, to give drink to the musicians and dancers. When the crowd had assembled, and the music was ready, she was brought forth and began to dance and throw herself into the maddest postures imaginable, and in this manner she kept on the whole day. Towards evening, she began to let fall her silver ornaments from her neck, arms, and legs, one at a time, so that in the course of three hours she was stripped of every article. A relation continually kept going after her as she danced, to pick up the ornaments, and afterwards delivered them to the owners from whom they were borrowed. As the sun went down, she made a start with such swiftness, that the fastest runner could not come up with her, and, when at the distance of about two hundred yards, she dropped on a sudden, as if shot. Soon afterwards, a young man, on coming up with her, fired a matchlock over her body, and struck her upon the back with the broad side of his large



knife, and asked her name, to which she answered as when in her common senses, a sure proof of her being cured; for, during the time of this malady, those afflicted with it never answer to their Christian name. She was now taken up in a very weak condition and carried home, and a priest came and baptized her again in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which ceremony concluded her cure. Some are taken in this manner to the market-place for many days before they can be cured, and it sometimes happens that they cannot be cured at all. I have seen them in these fits dance with a *bruly*, or bottle of maize, upon their heads, without spilling the liquor, or letting the bottle fall, although they have put themselves into the most extravagant postures.

I could not have ventured to write this from hearsay, nor could I conceive it possible, until I was obliged to put this remedy in practice upon my own wife, who was seized with the same disorder, and then I was compelled to have a still nearer view of this strange disorder\*. I at first

\* I am much inclined to believe, from what I have learnt from Mr. Coffin as well as from the whole account itself, that, had Pearce persisted in his first remedy, he would have found it perfectly efficacious. It seems the Abyssinian ladies are remarkably fond of decking themselves out with trinkets and finery of all sorts, and of making themselves of consequence; and as, on the occasions in question, a lady's degree of importance is weighed by



thought that a whip would be of some service, and one day attempted a few strokes, when unnoticed by any person, we being by ourselves, and I having a strong suspicion that this ailment sprang from the weak minds of women, who were encouraged in it for the sake of the grandeur, rich dress, and music, which accompany the cure. But how much was I surprised, the moment I struck a light blow, thinking to do good, to find that she became like a corpse, and even the joints of her fingers became so stiff that I could not straighten them; indeed I really thought that she was dead, and immediately made it known to the people in the house that she had fainted, but did not tell them the cause, upon which they immediately brought music, which I had for many

the value and number of the ornaments and attendants, furnished by her relatives and friends, I fancy the source of this pretended complaint arises from causes somewhat allied to those, which not unfrequently induce our school-boys and young ladies to try the patience of their medical attendants and friends, by shamming anomalous disorders. Similar practices are by no means uncommon among our soldiers, and I have heard many of our army surgeons declare, that it often requires more sagacity to detect what are termed *malingers* than to discover the causes of a real disease. Poor Pearce, I have heard, was not very fortunate in his domestic partner, and as the whole account of *her* attack wears a very suspicious aspect, there appears to be little doubt that a perseverance in his simple remedy would have afforded a speedy cure; more especially as, I am told by Mr. Coffin, he has himself known many instances in Abyssinia, where the same remedy has been applied with singular success.—*Editor.*



days denied them, and which soon revived her ; and I then left the house to her relations to cure her at my expense, in the manner I have before mentioned, though it took a much longer time to cure my wife than the woman I have just given an account of. One day I went privately, with a companion, to see my wife dance, and kept at a short distance, as I was ashamed to go near the crowd. On looking stedfastly upon her, while dancing or jumping, more like a deer than a human being, I said that it certainly was not my wife ; at which my companion burst into a fit of laughter, from which he could scarcely refrain all the way home. Men are sometimes afflicted with this dreadful disorder, but not frequently. Among the Amhara and Galla it is not so common.

Other natural diseases, except the small-pox and measles, are not commonly dangerous. Fevers are very rare except in the *kolla* [low country] at the commencement of the rains. The superstitious people imagine that fevers arise from a blow of an evil spirit. If the patient survives seven days he is thought safe. They call a fever *muttart*, and the only remedy they in general use for it is the juice of some cooling leaves, ground and rubbed over the temples of the patient ; and they fasten different roots and herbs about the head and body, as also written charms, which



however are not employed for the cure of this disorder in particular, but worn by every body, sick or well, high or low. Colds and sore eyes are very common, but not dangerous, and are caught in general through personal neglect; the Abyssinians sleeping in the sun by day, and being exposed to the heavy dews by night, with scarcely a rag to cover them. The leprosy is very common among the lower class, especially in the provinces to the southward, where I have seen thousands who had lost their fingers and toes, and who had their bodies covered all over with large white spots. They call the leprosy *duhe segar*; and those afflicted with this disease are not only great beggars, but also thieves and very insolent; they will even abuse the governor of the district they are in, as he passes, though he never takes any notice of them, agreeably to the custom of the country.

The small-pox, as I have before mentioned, is the most destructive complaint known in Abyssinia. Upon the approach of that disorder, the people in the country and villages collect their children and those who have not had it into one gang, for the purpose of having them inoculated. Every one carries a piece of salt, or a measure of corn: they then march together to the neighbouring town, or wherever the disorder may have made



its appearance. Here they pick out a person, who is thickest covered with sores, and procure a skilful person or Dofter, who takes a quantity of matter from him into an egg-shell, and then by turns he cuts a small cross with a razor in the arm, puts in it a little of the matter, and afterwards binds it up with a piece of rag. The salt and other articles which they carry are given to the Dofter, and he divides it with the person from whom the matter is taken. After this operation they all return home, singing and shouting praises to God, in a joyful manner, and beseeching him to preserve them from death during the time of their disease. From the time the fever takes them, they are put into a close hut or house, where not a breath of air, and if possible not the least light, can enter. Here they are laid naked upon river-sand, or wood-ashes, the latter being preferred in general when they are covered thickest. Neither male dogs, male cats, cocks, nor any other male animals, are suffered to remain about the house. Their superstition causes them even to affirm for a truth that, in all cases of sexual intercourse, either on the part of human beings or animals, in or about the premises where the patient lies, the devil brings the shadow of the sin upon them and kills them for his own. When a horse or mule is castrated, the animal is



not allowed to be seen by any visiter until the sore is healed, from a similar superstition.

A disease contracted from sexual intercourse is very common throughout the country, and often is the ruin of many people from want of proper medicine. It is never kept a secret, but, as soon as it is discovered, those afflicted make it known to all their friends and neighbours, and thus it becomes public throughout the district in which they live; and every friend will pay a visit, and, if the disorder has fallen upon some man or woman of consequence, they will often meet upon a day appointed, and keep a cry at the house, as when a person dies. This disease is called in the Amhara language *kitchin*, in Tigré *fintarta*; it is quite different from the disease that exists in Europe. Here are four different kinds, viz. *armarzes*, *bersine*, *gulla*, and *negus fintarta*\*. *Armarzes*, or the elephant's disease, breaks into large sores, in general under the arm-pits, the neck, and mouth, and very much affects the throat. *Bersine*, which takes its name from a small brown pea which it resembles, in general covers the body, arms, and thighs, as well as the face, especially the lips, with large pimples full of pus. *Gulla* takes its name from its generally breaking out

\* Probably, from the description given, none of these diseases are of the nature of the one to which Pearce alludes.—*Editor*.



under the arm-pits, like a large fungus, which continually keeps raw. The *negus fintarta*, which signifies the king's disease, seldom shews itself outwardly, but occasions rheumatic pains, at times giving rise to large swellings in the internal parts of the body, and also affects the head very much, and frequently destroys the bones. Many are ruined by this dreadful disease; for, when the swellings burst, they commonly spread and eat away the flesh in a horrible manner. To cure this disease they take strong purgatives, bulbs, roots, herbs, flowers, and barks; the most esteemed of these is called by the Tigré *abba-chugo*, a very small bulb, resembling that of garlic, only bearing a reddish-brown skin, having a strong and very sickly taste; this also kills the tape-worm. The wood and root of a tree called *tumback*, a very strong purgative, are also used on these occasions. A small herb, mixed with milk, called *induckduck*, produces the like effect. I may add the flower of *cusho*\*, in Amhara, in

\* The medicine called *cusho*, so efficacious in the cure of tape-worm, was first made known to Europeans by Mr. Bruce, though, according to Dr. Madden, a French physician has subsequently reaped the honour of the discovery. The *cusho* is a very powerful medicine, and of great service in the cure of the tape-worm, though Mr. Coffin considers it not so effectual as the *shenna* in cases of this nature. Besides the above medicines, many others are found in the country, some of which are said to possess very



Tigré *hobbe*, and also *shenna*, the bark of a tree, which are both strong purgatives, and much celebrated for killing the tape-worm.

They have numbers of other medicinal roots and herbs, but the above are the most common; such as can afford it take another remedy to cure some of the above disorders; it is a medicine brought into this country by the Mahomedans, who say that it comes from Morocco; it is called *wishwar*. It resembles small brown sticks, or dried stalks of a plant, which, being pounded and made into bolusses, the patient swallows six at a time, morning and evening, and is then put into a dark place, where he is laid between two large fires, allowed to eat nothing but a cake made of wheat flour without salt, and obliged to drink several large horns of honey and water every day. The sudorific effect of this mode of treatment is beyond conception. After the first seven days the patient leaves off taking the bolusses, but still continues to inhale the steam through a hollow cane from a pot on the fire in which some of this medicine is boiling. At the expiration of fourteen days, he is allowed a little meat, and his diet is increased by degrees, for forty days, after

powerful and *singular* properties; an account of which, however, would be better inserted in a medical work than in this Journal.—*Editor*.



which he is allowed the air, and gradually goes about until he has entirely recovered his strength; but many die under the remedy.

*Meshero*, which is a sort of scrophula, is also another disease very common in the country. The Abyssinians conceive this disorder to be connected with the above, and they apply the same kind of medicine, though I have known some who succeed in curing it in a different manner, of which I was once an eye-witness. The operator took a razor and made two deep cuts in the shape of a cross upon the swelling, then put in his little finger, and very soon brought to the surface a kernel about the size of a common nut: this he disengaged from the flesh with his razor, and then bound up the wound with some pounded herbs, which he had prepared for the purpose. Observing that he took great care of the kernel, I begged him to tell me what he wanted it for; when he told me, that after it had become perfectly dry, by being kept for several days in the sun, he should make a powder of it that would prevent any person from catching the same distemper. This powder, he said, was to be worn in a written charm about the neck of those who chose to pay him for the application. To satisfy my curiosity farther, he cut the kernel in two, to shew me what it contained, which I found to be



small slimy kernels : he remarked that those were the roots, which were just beginning to grow.

That dreadful complaint, the tape-worm, which is very frequent in Abyssinia, I cannot account for; formerly I had an opinion that it was through the inhabitants eating raw flesh, but that cannot be the case, because I have seen a guinea-fowl and several deer, that have been killed with these worms in their bowels : domestic animals, at times, are also afflicted with them. My opinion at present is, that it is produced by the climate and the water. If the Abyssinians were not blessed with the plant called *cusho*, which is a certain cure for this dreadful disease, as I have before mentioned, bad indeed would be the consequence. I myself was not troubled above four times with this disease, during my stay in the country ; but my companion, Mr. Coffin, was under the disagreeable necessity of taking this medicine every six weeks or two months, like every other individual of the country.

Sore throats are common in the beginning of the rains, the cure for which is a wild honey, called *tasmar* by the Amhara; this honey is peculiar to the *kolla*, or low country ; it is very thin, very clear, and of a reddish colour, with a particularly fine flavour : it is in general found in rocky ground, and the insect that produces it has a



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long narrow body, of a yellowish colour, with wings about the size of a black ant. This liquor is squeezed from a spongy substance, which is quite different from the wax of bees. On my quitting the country I brought a few bottles in a *sanga's* horn, for a specimen, which I gave to Mr. Salt. This honey, the priests of the country affirm to be the wild honey that St. Johu the Baptist found in the wilderness, and they use it in several complaints as a medicine.

The Abyssinians have no established midwifery: when a woman is taken in labour, or gives signs of being near the hour of delivery, her female neighbours go to her assistance. Any female who happens to be present will take a razor and divide the umbilical cord, though the mother is frequently known to perform that operation herself, to be better satisfied of its not being left too long or too short. It is the custom of the country that no man should enter the door of a lying-in woman, till seven days after childbirth, though at times necessity obliges them to the contrary; on that day the neighbouring women assemble together, at the house, and take the bed-linen to the river to wash, marching together in a gang, and singing and calling on God to prosper the child. On this day they eat *gar* in the Tigré, or *gumfo* in the Amhara, and drink



*sowa*, as on the day of child-birth. The former is a mash made of wheat-flour, water, and butter; the latter the common beer of the country, a fermented liquor made indiscriminately from different kinds of grain, but in general of course from that most common in the part of the country where they reside. This feast is called *gella*. On the eighth day the child is circumcised; a woman performs the operation, and a white fowl is killed and cooked at the ceremony, and given to the woman, in recompense for her skill; no particular ceremony or assemblage of friends being held as among the Mahomedans. The females undergo a similar operation. A male child is christened at the age of forty days, but the female is not christened till the eightieth day.

Their manner of christening is somewhat singular. A man does not stand godfather for a girl, nor a woman for a boy, and the parents always look out for a person most able to make some present to their child. The parent or priest gives it the name, the godfather or godmother holding it in a piece of cloth, which they destine as a present to their god-son or god-daughter. Some, who can afford it, will present the child to the priest, to be baptized, in a very valuable piece of cloth. During the first part of the ceremony, the



godfather or godmother holds the child, and promises to do his or her best for it. During the whole ceremony, the priest swings to and fro a brass vase suspended by four brass chains, with small bells attached to it, in which frankincense is kept burning, and the fumes of which are sent forth during the whole of the ceremony. Before the priest places the child in the new cloth held by the godfather, he dips it in a large pan of water, and then takes a small wooden cross, and, beginning on the forehead, says, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." After repeating this, he crosses every joint of the body, behind and before; he then takes a feather, dipped in a certain oil, which is obtained from Egypt, and is called *meiron*, repeating this formula, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I anoint thee with the holy oil, as a token that thou hast entered into Christ's flock." All this having been performed in the church-yard, near the entrance-gate, the mother takes the child into the church, and there waits till the sacrament is administered to the people, as well as to the child; some *ambasha*, cakes of bread, and beer, are the usual acknowledgments made to the priests by the parents on these occasions, except in the case of people of quality, who in general



invite all the priests of the church in which their child is christened, and give them a hearty feast.

I cannot help adverting to a practice which is not unfrequent, but which might appear fabulous to any one who had not witnessed it. When a woman has had one, two, or more children, and they have all died, she will, in hopes of saving the life of another just born, cut off a piece from the tip of the left ear, roll it up in a piece of bread, and swallow it; and others will keep one side only of the head shaved until the child is grown up. For some time I was at a loss to conjecture the reason why a number of grown people of my acquaintance had one ear cut; and, when told the truth, I could scarcely believe it, till I went into the house of a neighbour, though contrary to the custom, purposely to see the operation. An old woman cut off the tip of the ear, and put it into a bit of cold cooked victuals, called *sherro*, when the mother of the infant opened her mouth to receive it, and swallowed it, pronouncing the words, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." They have recourse to many other superstitious and whimsical practices to prevent children from dying.

I shall give an account of their marriages, but as the Amhara and Tigré differ in some points, my narration may be considered as more particu-



larly applying to Tigré. No marriages are performed in churches, or by the interference of a priest. A man may have as many wives as he chooses, if he does not think it prudent to be attached to one, which is seldom the case. But when it does happen that a man and woman imagine they can be content with each other, and live together a religious life, they agree in the presence of a court of the elders of the town, or district, called *shummergeildas*, to put whatever property they may have together, which property is counted and considered as belonging to them both, and the one cannot dispose of any part of it without the approbation of the other. They then swear, in the presence of the *shummergeildas*, to be mutually faithful, and to take the holy sacrament together frequently on holydays; after which they go to the church, to make a confession, and the sacrament is administered to them for the first time. This is the only marriage that is a little Christian-like. During the time they are living in this holy state, they are called *carrava*, which is sacred people; but I have seldom known it to continue long without either the one or the other being suspected of adultery. The party accused of this act is taken before the *shummergeildas*, by whom they were joined, or, in case of their absence, before a court of any



other *shummergildas* in the town, and, on the crime being proved by a certain number of witnesses, the *shummergildas* consult together and pass what sentence they think fit, according to the nature of the offence and the custom of the country, which makes a difference with regard to the number of times he or she may have been caught in the fact. If, after this, they still do not wish to be parted, which is often the case, the offender is sentenced to forfeit part of his or her share of the property joined together on their marriage, which is given to the offended party as *rasa*, which signifies a penalty, to be at his or her sole disposal. But, should the complainant insist upon being parted, whether it be the man or woman, the offender is sentenced to forfeit half of his or her original property. If they have children, they are divided according to the sentence of the *shummergildas*; when a boy and a girl, the father in general takes the boy and the mother the girl. At the separation of man and wife, I once saw, to end the dispute about a little girl, the father and mother cast lots which should have her: this is done in a very fair way; the *shummergildas* takes two sticks, one of them being longer than the other that they may be identified; then they are presented to the man and wife, and the *shummergildas* says to



the man, "This belongs to you," and to the woman, "This belongs to you," after which a stranger is called in, who never saw the sticks, but knowing what they are presented to him for, it being a common custom to cast lots on several occasions, he takes hold of them, and, putting them between his hands, places them behind his head, when, rolling them round rapidly, he throws one down, saying, "In the name of God, this is the owner," and each of the parents, knowing their own stick, thanks God and takes away the child.

In the above-mentioned marriages, I have known instances of many being cheated by impostors. There are a number of people in different parts of Abyssinia, who get their living by *moggot* and *sheffart*, which signify "lawyering and cheating," though *tuvverku* is the common name given to a lawyer, *moggot* being more applicable to those who plead causes, who are connected often with men who make such marriages a business. One of these, knowing a woman to have a good property, feigns to fall in love with her, and entices her into the snare. After he has succeeded in persuading the poor woman to be his wife, and they are bound by an oath to receive the sacrament together and live as the select people of Christ, he, in a very



short time, brings one of his acquaintances to be a constant visiter\*, and a plan is arranged between them in what manner to act: for instance, a day will be appointed for the ruin of the poor woman, when the acquaintance will be lying and playing on the same sofa with the woman, such liberties being common in Abyssinia, when the parties are intimate friends and familiar in the family, and then the husband will come in suddenly, bringing several witnesses with him, whom he has told previously that he has frequently caught a man with his wife. On their approach, the friend jumps from the sofa and makes his escape, in order to confirm the fact, and in this way the poor woman is cheated. If she says anything in her defence, when before the *shummergeildas*, the witnesses against her, who suppose they are attesting the truth, are too numerous, and she is accordingly condemned. I have known several instances of this kind, and indeed I once knew a woman to have been guilty of this shameful practice in several towns where she had lived. She was a native of Gondar, who set herself up for a *tuvverku*, or lawyer, by which profession she procured her maintenance, as one of the

\* An Abyssinian is never jealous of a man with whom he is on terms of friendship, whatever familiarity there may be between him and his wife.



higher class of people. She is known in all the principal towns of Abyssinia by the name of Wolletta Gorgis Sheffart, or cheat.

In all law-suits, either before the governor of a province or a court of *shummergildas*, the plaintiff and the defendant stand up, with their cloth tied round their middle, leaving the upper part of the body naked, which is customary even in the severest weather. The *turverkus* stand on each side of them, pleading in a loud tone of voice their several causes, during which time wagers of mules, cows, sheep, or *wakeahs* of gold, &c., are continually laid by the *turverku*, that they will prove such and such charges which may be denied by the plaintiff or defendant; which wagers, when won, become the perquisites of the governor. They will also bind each other over to forfeit a mule, or a *wakeah* of gold, not to speak till the other has finished his speech; but it often happens that the falsehoods which the one may be relating incense the other, who in general holds his mouth with his hand, to such a degree, that, forgetting he is bound by a forfeit not to speak, he bursts out into a rage, exclaiming, *Assert!* [a lie!] when he is instantly taken up by the governor's servant, whose office it is to look for such slips, and obliged to give bond on the spot for the forfeit lost; or he has a chain



put on his wrist, and is chained to one of the governor's servants till he pays the sum forfeited ; though it is seldom that they cannot find some one standing or sitting by to be bond for them. These forfeits are also the governor's perquisites. I have known a great man lose by one wager fifty white mules, which are the most esteemed, the wager having been made merely to show his consequence.



## CHAPTER X.

Arts practised to procure Husbands—Dowry—Ceremonies of Marriage—The *Arkeys*; their Duties—Musical Instruments—Dancing—Depravity of the Clergy—Licentiousness of the nobility and higher classes—Punctual observance of Fasts—Administration of the Holy Sacrament—Marks of Respect paid to Churches—Priests—Confessors—Schools—Punishment of Scholars—Written Charms—Story of a Gojam Dofter—Tobacco prohibited by the Priests—Their Dress—Form of Churches—The *Tarvat*, or Ark—Mode of obtaining Redress from Princes or Chiefs—Payment of Taxes—Cattle—Servants—Houses—Agriculture—Ravages of Monkeys—Crops—Weeding—Cookery—Feeding.

I SHALL now give some account of the way in which the Abyssinians procure husbands for their daughters, and their mode of marrying. The Amhara, as well as the Tigré, when they fancy their daughter old enough to take a husband, which is in general, especially among the Amhara, incredibly young\*, plait her hair very neat, and blacken her eyes with a mineral called *cohot*,

\* I have known many middle-aged men take children from eight to twelve years of age to their wives, and they have borne children at fourteen\*.

\* I am informed by Mr. Coffin that he has known many girls become mothers at eleven or even ten years of age.—*Editor*.



which they obtain from the caravans from Egypt. They also die her hands with a root called *so-cella*, resembling our sweet potato, of a dark red colour. She is then placed constantly at the door in dry weather, either spinning or clearing corn, so that every one who passes may behold her; and she is taught by the mother to turn up the whites of her eyes, (which are in general very large) when young men or strangers pass, and put on a smiling look, between modesty and bravery, when answering their questions. If any man take a liking to a girl in this situation, let him be young or old, he either goes or sends to the mother, or any relation she may have, and asks for her, and, to satisfy himself respecting certain points, he himself sends a female acquaintance to inspect her. The mother then demands her dowry, which is a dress, consisting of a cotton shirt and a piece of cloth, which, if he chooses to be extravagant, will cost to the amount of four and a half or five dollars, for six months, she on her part engaging to do the labouring work in the house; but she is allowed a servant for fetching wood and water, and other out-door duties. If the man has reason to feel satisfied with the girl, he sends a piece of white cloth dipped in the blood of a fowl to her friends, but if not, he returns her and takes back the cloths



he gave. The first three days the girl is obliged to drink a gravy made from a fowl, very hotly seasoned with pepper and onions, from an erroneous notion that it may effect the purpose intended ; but as I have no skill in such matters I shall say no more about it. The husband can turn her away when he chooses, and she may quit him at the expiration of the time first settled, if they cannot agree.

Those of a higher rank, such as chiefs of districts, farmers, or tradesmen, in general look out for some person's son of the same station as themselves, and the marriage is agreed on in the presence of the *shummergildas*, the father and mother of each giving a dowry. Only half the quantity of the girl's dowry is given to the son, though in Amhara both are equal. If it be a chief's son or daughter, the parents give a certain number of matchlocks, swords, cattle, cloths, hard money, and salt, the common currency of the country. The marriage is celebrated in great style. A large square *dass* is built with the branches and boughs of trees, and, on the day appointed, all the relations and friends of the parties assemble, except the father or nearest relation of the man, who, after sending the son's portion to the *shummergildas*, prepares to receive the married couple at his own house.



Several cows are in general killed, and in the *dass* a table or platform is spread out from one end to the other, covered with bread, maize, and *sowa*, called by the Amhara *tsug* and *taller*, so that all who attend may drink till they become intoxicated. When all is ready, the man, who is to take the woman away as his wife, comes riding on horseback, with several attendants, into the *dass*, dismounts, and with spear and shield in hand, shows himself off to the best advantage; boasting of his former deeds, and of those he will still perform, &c. &c., according to the custom of the country. His *arkeys* follow his example, in turn telling of their exploits. They then sit down, and the goods, cattle, and other articles, given on either side in dowry, are counted by the *shummergildas*, put together, and consigned to the *arkeys*, who send them home to the husband's premises. The festival then begins, and the raw meat is handed about, while it still reeks and shivers under the large two-edged knife, with which every man is furnished. The girl, whom, perhaps, the husband has never seen in his life, is seated on a couch, surrounded by her female servants and her *arkeys*, who hold their cloths before her, to conceal her from his sight. Before the festival arrives at its height, and when the parties are beginning to be intoxi-



cated, the husband again jumps up, boasting as before, while his *arkeys* fly to the girl, take hold of her, drag her away, as if by force, and put her upon a mule, one of the *arkeys* jumping up behind her. The husband and his followers then mount their horses, and ride off together\*.

The *arkeys*, in Tigré (called *musiers* in Amhara) are in general four or five in number. The woman has only two *arkeys*, intimate acquaintances who have been intreated to take the office. They are sworn to be true to each other through life, and to protect each other's wives and families, and they afterwards live together as the dearest friends. They also go about the country to which they belong, to collect gifts in a pitiful manner, (as I have often told them) for the new-married pair; each striving to outdo the other in collecting the most, and, to complete their share, they often steal sheep, goats, and even cows, and take the fowls from the poor by force. This wild career lasts about three weeks.

After the husband has taken his wife a great distance from the place whence he fetched her, if he cannot possibly reach his own district that day, he will take up his lodgings, which his

\* Their marriages in general take place about Christmas or after Ascension-day.



attendants soon find, in some village in the neighbourhood. Here, after some refreshment, the man and wife retire to bed for the first time, an *arkey* of each party lying by them, to give assistance in case of illness or accident. If the husband is satisfied with his bride, a fowl is immediately killed, and a white rag soaked in its blood, which, together with a fat goat and a hornful of white honey, is sent back to the father and mother by one of the man's *arkeys*, who in general receives a present for his good tidings. But, should he have reason to suspect her virtue, the husband takes a whip and makes her tell the name of her paramour, that he may take measures to prevent any communication between them in future. He may, if he chooses, send her back immediately to her parents, and demand restitution of his dowry, though, for the sake of peace between his and her parents, he in general keeps her. In this case, however, instead of a fat goat and a hornful of honey, he sends back an old lean goat, with one ear cut off, and a horn half full of bad honey. This very often happens, as the girls are not remarkable for their chastity; indeed I know it to be a fact that, in the province of Ammerseen, Temben, and in several parts of Enderta and Agow, parents actually take the precaution mentioned by Buffon



to preserve the integrity of their daughters until the time of their marriage.

At the above-mentioned marriages the trumpeters, drummers, and fifers, belonging to the governor of the province, are present, and receive a piece and a half of cloth from every married pair throughout the province, which perquisites are granted to the governor to maintain the band.

It may not be amiss to give in this place some account of their musical instruments. The trumpets are in general made of the skin of the elephant, except the lower broad mouth, which is the neck of a calabash. They give out a tremendous sound. The fifes are made of a hard wood hollowed out, having three holes for the fingers of the left hand. They are blown into at the end, are about a foot and three quarters long, and their tone is very wild, especially when they are accompanied by a small instrument called *tora*, about eight inches long, which is likewise blown at the end, yielding a hollow, bass, and savage sound. Three trumpeters, three fifers, and one *tora*, with a long drum, narrower at one end than at the other, and beat at both ends with the hands, complete the band of the chief of a district.

The band of a Ras consists of the number



above-mentioned, and forty-four large drums accompanied each by a small one. These drums are in the shape of the kettle-drums of Europe, cut out of trunks of large trees ; they are headed with cow-hide, and, being very heavy, are carried on mules, the larger on the right side and the smaller on the left, the drummer riding behind, with a small straight stick in the left hand, and one that turns up at the end and larger in the right. His provisions, in leather bags, beneath the drums, prevent these heavy and clumsy instruments from galling the animal's back ; these drums produce a warlike sound, and in marches are beat regularly together, though they have but few changes.

Of stringed instruments, they have a sort of fiddle, consisting of a piece of wood, square and hollowed out, with a neck about a foot and a half long. The hollow part is covered with hide, on which the bridge stands. It has only one string, and the stick is a bow bent, with several horse-hairs attached to it. They have also a kind of lyre, the lower part of which is made of a hollow piece of wood and covered with cow-hide, and above which is a slight wooden arch, about two feet high, to which six strings are fastened. Each string has a piece of wood, to answer to it as a screw, which twists the string round the top



of the arch. This instrument is called *charchamer*. There is another, of nearly the same form, and of the same materials, only larger and with ten strings called *berganner*. Some of them are four feet high, and their notes are very pleasant. The nobility and great men all practise playing upon them; the strings are beat with a piece of wood, or ivory, with the right hand, while the fingers of the left command the tune. There are besides many childish instruments chiefly made out of the horns of animals.

Their manner of dancing consists rather in the motion of the shoulders and head than in that of the legs or feet. When several dance at a time they move round in a ring. The men jump a great height at times, while the women squat down by degrees, making motions with the head, shoulders, and breast, until they nearly squat on the ground. They afterwards spring up in a lively manner, and go round as before. The Amhara do not practise this latter exercise, but their motions are the same. Their songs are far from humorous, and seldom consist of more than one or two short verses, sung over and over again, in a rude manner. The chanting of the priests in their churches and public places would be more agreeable, if they did not exhibit the most unbecoming actions while they are so employed.



The Abyssinians, while they profess to be rigid followers of the Christian faith, are yet ignorant of the greater part of its precepts; which arises chiefly from the want of a good example being shown to them by those of the superior class. Even the heads of their clergy, instead of holding out to the populace an example of good Christian morals, practise the very reverse. They are in general the greatest drinkers in the whole country, and at feasts, the quantity of raw meat which they consume, and the ravenous manner in which they devour it, exceeds all belief; indeed they behave more like drunken beasts, when in company, than civilized beings. They are besides addicted to fighting, quarrelling, lying, swearing, cheating, and adultery. By chance you find, here and there, a priest who is free from these vices; and who strives to set a good example; but the clergy are too loosely governed, all considering themselves as equals, to be corrected by the good example of one or two individuals. I knew one especially, with whom I was acquainted for several years, at the head of the Trinity church at Chelicut, who always conducted himself like a virtuous father of the faith, striving earnestly to bring the people over to the practice of good morals. He even made a speech in the church, against the abomination and disgrace to



the Christian faith of eating raw meat, but before he could finish he was interrupted by the clergy under him, who threatened to displace him and put another in his office; to this he did not object, readily consenting to have no more interference with the duty of their church, since they would not be taught by him. But the Ras, hearing of the affair, prevailed upon him to retain his station, and to permit the people to do as their fathers had done before them. This chief priest's name was Allicar Barhe, mentioned in Mr. Salt's Journal; he was born in Gondar, and obtained a superior education at the church Ledett, in which he had held the situation of deacon. In such a state of things, how can it be expected that other classes of people should have good morals, when those who ought to teach them have none?

The nobility, and all those of a certain rank, live in a state of great licentiousness and debauchery, even when married. They are seldom jealous of each other, or at least never show their jealousy, knowing well each other's culpability; but when a man actually witnesses the infidelity of his wife, he immediately kills the intruder. Nothing, however, happens to the woman more than that she is left to lament the loss of her lover, and to bear the shame of being accounted



guilty of his death. This seldom happens, as the great people of Abyssinia always live in separate apartments, where both sexes have many convenient opportunities ; the women having the privilege of keeping what servants and company they please, the same as the men.

Notwithstanding the libertine conduct of the Abyssinians, they strictly keep all their fasts, which are very numerous, and on those days never eat or drink, till about three o'clock in the afternoon, which time they compute by measuring so many lengths of the foot given by the shade of the body on level ground. This, indeed, is the only way in which they keep time in Abyssinia. Their great Lent, which commences in February, lasts fifty-six days. The fast for the apostles, which is in one year fifteen days, and in the other thirty, begins in June. The fast for the Blessed Virgin, which is in August, lasts fifteen days. The fast of Quosquom, kept by priests only, beginning in October, and the fast before Christmas-day, called Ledetts, both continue thirty days. The fast of Tumkut, or of baptism, lasts one day, and the fast of Unus lasts three days, making altogether a total of one hundred and sixty five days in one year, and one hundred and fifty in another, exclusive of the Wednesdays and Fridays



throughout the year, except during the eight weeks after the great Lent, in which these fasts are not observed, being eight weeks of continued festival. Some eat fish on these fast days, and others eat nothing but pulse or herbs, especially during the great Lent.

Their years are called after the four Evangelists; that of John is the leap-year. St. John's day is new-year's day. Christmas is on the twenty-ninth of Tisa, and answers to about the 6th of our January. They reckon the number of years from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ five thousand five hundred; and from the birth of Christ to the present time one thousand eight hundred and five, the latter being about nine years short of our time. The *lick-counts*, or scribes, who regulate the time, esteem themselves very learned people, and are proud beyond conception. The priests are also proud of their learning, and of their rules and regulations in the performance of divine service as Christians, though numbers of them cannot read.

The administering of the holy sacrament is quite a public ceremony. The sacrament is prepared in a part within the church walls, or hedge, called Bethlem, which is in general on the east



side, where no female is allowed to go\*. It consists of ground raisins and wheat flour, mixed with water, and is brought from the apartment where it is prepared in a basket, covered with a bit of red cloth or silk, carried on the head of a deacon, a bell being carried before it, continually ringing to give notice of its approach, when every body stands up and repeats the Lord's prayer. It is then placed in the middle of the dark part, where the altar stands, and candles are burned to give light, when a priest takes the mixture, which is in a large bowl, and, with a large wooden spoon, puts it into the mouths of those that come up to receive it, each repeating a short prayer while another priest gives them the cross to kiss. After receiving the holy sacrament, they place their hands to their mouths and go their way, nor will they on any consideration spit that day, even if a fly by chance be drawn into the mouth by their breath, which at other times would occasion them to vomit, as they detest a fly, and many will not even eat or drink what a fly has been found in.

In the churches of a superior class the articles for preparing the sacrament are, like their other ornaments, of gold and silver, the churches in general

\* No woman is permitted to enter or be buried on the same side of the church where the sacrament is administered.



being very richly endowed, though I have before said the building itself is worth little. On passing a church mounted, they alight from their horse or mule, and kiss the gateway or tree in front, according to the distance they are at when passing, and, if at a distance, they take up a stone and throw it upon a heap, which is always found on the road opposite to the church. In Abyssinia, a traveller, who sees in the wildest deserts large piles of stones, might be led to attribute the custom to the same motive which occasions similar piles to be found in Arabia, where some one has been killed and buried, and all who know him, as they pass, throw a stone on his grave; but this is not the case here, those stones being thrown there by Christians, who know that the nearest church lies opposite to the spot: and on this account an Abyssinian traveller, when he sees such a pile of stones, knows that he is opposite to a church, and in consequence kisses the pile and adds another stone to the heap.

The priests are numerous beyond belief. The total revenue of the church is divided into equal portions, of which the Allicar, or chief priest, has ten for his share; others, according to their rank, one or more. Numerous parties of priests also resort to the different churches, who have no part in its income. Some live by begging,



and some get a maintenance from the priests of the church who are too idle to do the duty when it comes to their turn, and so employ them. There is a treasurer in every church called *carpet*, who looks after the wealth belonging to it; he is reckoned among those of the superior rank, and his income in general consists of three portions. When a priest has conduct enough to behave in a sober and righteous way, and never to be seen in company, when he first comes to live in a strange town, he is taken notice of by every one of the towns-people, and they fly to him, as their father, confessing their sins, and giving him presents for forgiveness; and, if he remain a number of years, he is sure to amass considerable property. He may have two or three thousand such children, and each gives him every year, on St. John's or new-year's day, a piece or two of salt, or about the fifteenth part of a dollar. Those who have prudence enough to conduct themselves in this manner for five or six years will make money enough to maintain them during the remainder of their lives, and will then return to their native place, and purchase oxen, take a wife, commence farming, and live well, so long as the country they reside in is at peace.

A priest can marry only once; the greater part of the priests, however, think it not lawful



to marry, and many thousands who resort to Waldubba, Beshlo, Temben, and other sacred places, never marry, though they are too often detected in the commission of adultery. No one can take upon himself, where he is known, to be a father confessor, unless he has been confirmed by the Egyptian patriarch. There are priests and deacons, who go about to the different towns, or residences of chiefs, where they find employment in teaching children to read, but this is very rare, and they have few scholars, which always surprised me, as the schooling is very cheap. The master receives, for teaching a boy or girl, one piece of cloth, equal to a dollar, every year, and two cakes of bread daily, from every scholar in turn, so that if he has many it does not bear hard on any individual. Their school is held generally in a churchyard, or in some open place near it, sometimes before the residence of the master, and, in that case, during the rains, they are all crowded up in a small dark hut, learning prayers by word of mouth from the master, instead of from a book. When a boy is somewhat advanced in learning, he is made to teach the younger ones.

However few the scholars, the master has in general great trouble with them, and, in addition to the ordinary punishments, numbers are con-



stantly obliged to be kept in irons. The common way of punishing scholars is as follows. The schoolmaster stands over them with a wax-taper, which cuts as severely as a whip, while five or six boys pinch the offender's legs and thighs, and if they spare him the master gives them a stroke with the taper; but the correction considered most effective for these young Abyssinian rogues is that of having irons put upon their legs for many months together, which in one instance I knew proved fatal. It was a grown Agow boy, about thirteen years of age, who had more than once contrived to get his irons off and desert from the school, for which the master, by desire of the parents, put so heavy a pair of irons upon his ancles, that he found it impossible to get them off, and this enraged him so much, that he drew his large knife, cut his own throat, and soon afterwards expired.

Very few Abyssinians learn to write; those who do are chiefly occupied in writing charms, and some of the more artful persuade the poor ignorant people that they are possessed of supernatural powers, especially the cunning Dofters of Gojam, many of whom travel about the country, writing charms, &c. In country villages, the inhabitants will maintain one of these persons for months together, he pretending



that he can prevent hail from destroying their corn, and the locust from approaching the district, and cure all sorts of diseases with his written charms, for which he not only gets paid, but lives upon the fat of their district, and administers justice according to his own goodwill and pleasure.

I cannot help mentioning a circumstance which once befel one of these impostors. The Ras had often conversed with me, telling me the power these people had, and what dangerous enemies they were to those who offended them; to which I always replied, that it was only a foolish superstition of the ignorant, and that they had no power more than other people, and ought rather to be punished as impostors. Through frequent conversations he began, I saw, to be of my opinion, but dared not show it, for fear of giving umbrage to the priests. A Gojam Dofter came one day to ask the Ras to put him at the head of the clergy of some country district, assuring him that he could prevent the ravages of the small-pox, of the destructive locust, or of hail. The Ras, smiling, recommended him to me and Mr. Coffin, who were then sitting at dinner with him. In consequence, he made his bow, and addressed himself to us. On our return home, he followed us, and we ordered our gatekeeper to permit him to



enter the yard, while I and Mr. Coffin went into the house, and soon returned with two English cart-whips, that came with the artillery harness and carriages brought by Mr. Salt. The Dofter smiled at seeing those long weapons, and asked the use of them. "We are going to show you," said Mr. Coffin, and I immediately added, in a serious tone, "If you can save others from the wrath of God, save yourself from the whipping you are going to receive;" on which we both began to lay on, till he fell at our feet, imploring mercy, declaring he had no more power than his fellow-creatures. After this acknowledgment, we gave him his bellyful of victuals, raw meat, and maize, and turned him out of the yard, when he asked us for money, which we refused, and he became very troublesome and abusive. At last he so provoked Mr. Coffin, that he took his blunderbuss, charged it, put the blood of a fowl which he had just killed on the top of the powder, and went to the gate and discharged it at him; when the man, seeing himself covered with blood, took to his heels and ran up to the top of a small mountain, where he remained till the evening, when he descended and went to the Ras's gate, calling out *Abbate! Abbate!* [justice]; and stating that the white man had shot him. Upon this, the Ras sent for me and Mr. Coffin, to



inquire into the matter, when, hearing the truth of the affair, he laughed heartily, and dismissed the fellow, who departed, and was never heard of more in that part of the country. For several weeks after, the old Ras would laugh heartily at dinner time over the story.

Another time we produced the same effect upon one of these impostors, with a number of squibs and crackers, that came from England also, which we threw upon him through the roof, into a close room, where he was writing his charms, and drawing the picture of hell, the devil, &c., which frightened him so much that he broke open the door, and, leaving his cap and turban, with all the utensils of his art, behind him, he ran off, and never returned. This also furnished great amusement to the old gentleman, though he never durst say any thing against these wretches in public, even when he was himself convinced.

There was also a great Dofter who used to travel about the country of Enderta for several years, and had become very rich by cheating the poor and ignorant. This Dofter used to attend the sick, and was employed to purify places supposed to be haunted by the devil, &c. He used always to commence his operations in the heat of the sun, when he would order all fires to be removed



from near the spot, and would then sit down on a dry place near the door, and tell the people to withdraw to a little distance while he prayed, during which time he would, by the assistance of the bottom of a broken bottle, set fire to some dry horse-dung, with the rays of the sun; he would then throw on some frankincense, to make a great smoke, and, rising up with his face towards heaven, would call his ignorant employers, telling them in an awful tone, that "God had heard him, and sent down fire from heaven to destroy all their enemies, visible or invisible." This I found out by my own investigation, having produced the same effect with the bottom of a broken *bruly*, or bottle, which experiment I showed to the Ras. Still, none durst disbelieve the Dofter.

The priests and clergy abhor the smoking of tobacco, and no one is allowed to enter a church who has previously been smoking, though numbers of them take snuff. Indeed, the smoking of tobacco is forbidden by the priests to all classes, yet many are addicted to the habit, for which they are answerable to their father-confessor, it being accounted a sin. This prohibition took place many years ago, and derived its origin from the adventures of a priest, called Abba Zerraverrock. Being accustomed to smoke tobacco, and his



stock being exhausted when on his pilgrimage to Deverer Libanus, on the road to Shoa, he was under the necessity of selling a silver cross, which he wore about his neck, to a pagan Galla for a supply. On his return from his pilgrimage, he laid before the Echigge, or high-priest, and the court of Gondar, the wickedness he had been tempted to commit, through the practice of smoking tobacco, when instantly an order was issued forbidding all Christians the use of that herb, which grows very plentifully in the *kolla*, or warm parts of the country, and is very cheap.

On entering a church, people always bow and kiss the corners of the door-way. The priests carry a small cross in their hands, which they frequently present to the people to kiss; indeed the lower class kiss any picture shown to them, or any thing that resembles the human figure. Priests of the superior class have a long two-edged sword always carried before them, by way of state, and some of them even two, three, four, and more. Their dress is a long open shirt, with large wide sleeves and a collar, the ends of which hang down on each side of the breast to the waist, tapering to a point; long loose trowsers, a skull-cap, and a light turban. Some of them dress in yellow, but this colour is mostly confined to



monks, or those who resort to the wilderness ; white being the colour in common use. The priests are in general very polite, and, as far as outward appearance goes, very good people, but they are for the greater part the most despicable wretches in Abyssinia, though some are to be found, as I have before said, with exceedingly good qualities.

Having already given some account of their churches, and of the manner in which they are ornamented, I shall now only remark, with respect to their general form, that the inner part is a square room within which stands an altar about the height of a man. It is constructed of wood, of very inferior workmanship, though in the superior churches painted very elegantly. Within this altar, which is called *munvar*, is a small ark called *tavvat*, far inferior to the workmanship of a common European tinker's tool-box, and about that size. This is the sacred article that bears the name of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, no one being allowed to touch it but the priests. On the holydays of the different saints, the neighbouring churches send about their *tavvats*, to do honour to the respective church of each saint, and when in this way exposed to public view they are borne on the head of a priest, being covered with silk or any other



coloured stuff. Before them march the inferior clergy belonging to the church, dressed in all sorts of rich clothes, with crowns of gold, silver, or brass, on their heads, each ringing a bell and bearing a long stick with a cross at the end, in one hand, and a kind of crucifix in the other, singing a joyful song. The trumpeters also march in front, while the high-priest rides behind with the priests of superior class, the populace following in procession. The girls form themselves into different parties, with their neighbours, and sing, dance, and clap their hands, to the accompaniment of a long drum, beat at both ends by a girl, who carries it with a strap about her neck. If in large towns, or near any populous place, the chiefs, with their soldiers, mounted upon horses and dressed in their warlike apparel, assemble to do honour to the *tavvat*, and they ride about in all directions, with fury and tumult, while the altar is moving slowly along; many accidents happen at these times. During the holyday, the *tavvats* of the respective churches are placed in small tents, or huts, built purposely, where each party of priests administers the sacrament to those who wish to partake of it, many choosing to receive it from the hands of a priest of the church dedicated to one saint, and many from others; their superstition leading them to believe



that one saint may be more partial to them than another through life. In the same way the nobility, and people of the middling class, give a feast every year in the name of some particular saint, whom they have made choice of from their youth, keeping open houses during that day, and giving alms to the poor. Yet, I am sorry to add, they wring it from the poor again tenfold, before the year is expired, by arbitrary oppression.

Corn, cattle, honey, butter, and cloths, are given, as tax or rent, to the chiefs of districts, of which a certain portion is paid by each to the prince or ruler of the province, yearly at Mascal. When the inhabitants of a district of any single individual find themselves oppressed by their governor, they repair to the premises of the prince or Ras, generally by night, where they cry out in a lamentable tone, *Abbate! Abbate!* till he hears them and sends one of his household to inquire into their complaint. If it be thought reasonable, they are admitted into the prince's presence; and, if he finds that they have been oppressed, he sends to the offender to return what has been unjustly taken; if not, to appear himself immediately at court: but, in spite of this apparent facility of redress, the poor in general, sooner or later, content themselves under their oppression



rather than complain, otherwise their chief will often bring them into a lawsuit, where they must attend daily, for a whole month perhaps, without getting a hearing, during which time they are not only detained from their daily labour, but have to pay dearly to the prince's household for admittance, whether they obtain a hearing or not; and, in general, when it comes to that point, the chief has the means of procuring false witnesses enough to condemn and ruin them. In fact the peasants or labouring people, in all parts of Abyssinia, never know when their persons or property are safe, on which account they are obliged to repair to the habitations of their chief on holydays, some presenting bread, butter, honey, and corn, and others a goat, sheep, or fowls, to keep in favour, and to prevent him from sending his soldiers to live upon their premises.

The south-east districts pay their taxes to government in salt, in the place of cloths, being near the *arro*, or salt-pans, where little cloth is manufactured. Enderta, Serra, Womberta, Deora, Desa, and Monus, all pay salt and cattle, and no cloths; Wojjerat pays honey and cattle, while all other districts throughout the kingdom pay the greater part of their tribute in cloths or gold. A carpet, a piece of silk, a matchlock, or any other



article, brought into their country by the caravans, is valued and received as cloth or gold. Cloth is very cheap, cotton being extremely plentiful in the centre and northernmost parts of Abyssinia. They manufacture no other kind of cloth but cotton, though they make coarse rags from the fleeces of their sheep, which are, for the greater part, black.

Though it is such a fine country for pasture, the sheep are seldom fat. The larger kind of cattle, as well as goats, thrive well, and would be the best and finest I have ever seen were they taken better care of. Their keepers are cruel, and, as they are obliged to be penned up and are very seldom cleaned, fatal diseases often occur among them, especially during the rains. The horses and mules are in general kept in the house together with their master, which makes it better for them. The horses are mostly spirited and handsome, and will bear much fatigue. They never clean them ; indeed, when I have talked to them about the manner of cleaning and shoeing horses in my own country, it has caused great laughter, and few could believe that it was true ; however I used to convince them how much better my own horses appeared, from their being cleaned every day, though I was not able to shoe them. The whole country abounding in corn and grass,



horses are fed well and at a cheap rate. A grass-cutter's pay is only three pieces of salt, equal to three dollars, per year, besides his provisions, and he brings a large load every day from the mountains or valleys. If it be a very dry season, so that long grass becomes scarce, he always provides for the horses plenty of *taff* straw, which is equal to straw or hay. The pay of all other common servants of both sexes is the same; and I have observed, that if through their faithfulness and attention the master may think fit to make them an addition to their pay, or any present, they become immediately ungovernable and insolent, the least indulgence spoiling them for good servants. When not indulged they are very submissive, and never receive any thing from their master's hand without bowing and kissing the article. The day they receive their new cloth, or wages, after sewing it into a proper form for a dress, they go to their master and mistress, and bow with their foreheads to their knees, saying, "Bless my new dress, that it may be a lucky one!" Servants of both sexes, after washing either the master's or mistress's feet, always bow and kiss them; they are in general clean in their persons, and wash themselves often as well as their dress. Still they are seldom free from the itch, to which disease all persons in the country



are liable. The women keep the clearest from it, by soaking their hands and feet in an infusion of a root called *socella*, which dyes them a dark red colour by way of ornament.

Their houses are far from being clean, in general swarming with vermin. They consist only of stones and clay, thatched over with a kind of grass, which I have mentioned in a former part of my Journal. The land is cultivated with great ease; they use no kind of manure to enrich the soil. They plough with a small plough, which the farmer holds in one hand and a large whip in the other, and it is drawn by a yoke of oxen, which are trained to be very steady. A cow is never put into the yoke, for which reason an ox is never killed, unless he will not or is not able to draw the plough. Cows are always used for slaughter. In clearing for cultivation land which never before was tilled, they cut down the trees and bushes, which they pile in different places over the remaining stumps of the larger sort, and, when dry, set them on fire, and then plough the ground two or three times over, and it is fit for cultivation.

At the commencement of the rains, the fields farthest from their villages are frequently damaged by hogs and monkeys, which are very numerous every where near the mountains, the



centre of the larger plains being alone exempt from these intruders. I have myself seen an assemblage of large monkeys\* drive the keepers from the field, in spite of their slings and stones, till several people went from the village to their assistance, and then they only retired slowly, on seeing that the men had no guns. Where leopards resort the country is clear of monkeys, but the farmer is continually losing his sheep and goats, though his corn may be safe. Wheat, barley, beans, hemp, and a corn called *arras* in Tigré, as well as peas, are sown in the month of June, after the first day or two of rain. Other different varieties of grain, called *marshella daguru*, and a red *taff*, called *taff agi*, are sown from the latter end of April till the middle of May. There are in general ten or fifteen days' rain in these months. Their harvest for the above-mentioned grain lasts from the latter end of September till the begin-

\* These monkeys, I am told by Mr. Coffin, are very mischievous and dangerous, especially to young females, when they chance to meet with them unprotected in solitary places: in case of blows or resistance they become extremely savage. I am not certain whether medical men are aware that these animals can be inoculated with the small-pox; but, as I have somewhere heard, or read, that this disease cannot be communicated, in any way, from the human subject to the brute creation, I merely mention the circumstance, as a fact that has come within Mr. Coffin's personal knowledge, and that the complaint is as fatal to the monkey as it is to the human species.—*Editor*.



ning of November; white and black *taff*, which is sown in the latter end of July and the beginning of August, is harvested in November and December; other species of grain called *shemberra* and *bursine*, are sown in the odd days, or *epagoma*, between August and September, and their harvest is in December and January. On plains or in valleys, near the rivers, they have crops all the year round, by means of trenches cut from the rivers, which water their banks for a considerable width, according to the industry of the farmers.

The rainy season, which is June, July, and August, is the quarter called *Currumpta*; the following three months are the quarter called *Koi* in *Tigré*; and the next quarter is called *Asmerra*.

The country is much overrun with numerous kinds of weeds, which, if neglected and not plucked up before the corn begins to form its ear, are often destructive to whole fields. The Abyssinians always help each other to weed their corn, which is done with great ceremony; a chief will muster every soldier in his service and march at the head of them to his corn-fields, where they lay down their arms, form into a line, join in chorus to a song, and, in general led by a female, march on plucking up the weeds. In this way



they soon get through a number of fields, throwing the weeds down as they pluck them, and leaving the farming-men, boys, and girls, to carry them to the borders of the field. In the month of September the chief, in general, finds this employment for his soldiers to preserve his favourite white *taff*. At times he will, on his return home, give them a feast of raw meat and maize, which is considered as the greatest treat in Abyssinia. Nothing can give more pleasure to the soldiers, or be more welcome to a visiter or stranger, than entertaining them with the blood-warm raw steaks of a cow and a hornful of maize or *tsug*.

In their cooking, they are very clean, except in two or three dishes which I shall not omit to mention. Fowls are washed, after being cut into pieces for cooking, in a dozen waters at least, and the same is practised in cleaning fish. Both dishes are cooked with curry, a mixture of hot chilly-pepper, onions, and salt, called *dillack*, with the addition of some butter and spices, which altogether form a hot compound that few European throats could swallow.

Mutton and goats' flesh are sometimes curried, and sometimes boiled, but more frequently only a little broiled. Partridges, guinea-fowl, and other game, are always curried. A very favourite



dish is the sheep's or goat's paunch minced, the liver broiled and also minced, together with a little of the substance from the entrails, that has not been digested, and a few drops from the gall, mixed all together with another compound of red pepper and salt, called *horzy*\*. Another sauce consists of the thin substance from a cow's entrails, boiled with mustard and the mixture called *horzy* and butter, which they generally eat with the raw beef. Another dish, which is seldom to be met with, except at the tables of persons of the higher rank, or the nobility, is made from a part of the cow called *chickkiner*, which is very tender, and cut up raw into very small mince-meat, then mixed with black pepper and a great quantity of oil, that runs from the joints of the knees and other limbs of the cow while being dissected. He may consider himself a great favourite who gets his mouth crammed full of this dish.

Women do all the cookery, and every chief keeps a good cook, called *abbuzer*. *Sherro* is a dish often given to a stranger, it being quickly done; it is made of meal, butter, and pepper. As I have before mentioned, it is the custom to feed their

\* The famous feast, to which Mr. Pallet was invited "after the manner of the ancients," appears a trifle by the side of these gastronomical delicacies.—*Editor*.



guests by cramming them, and when a man invites a friend to eat with himself and his wife, it is reckoned very unpolite if the wife does not feed the guest with her own hands ; the husband will also at times cram the guest, male or female, without distinction, and the more voraciously the visiter eats the better bred he is esteemed, except when necessity causes a scanty table, as in a camp or on a march ; then the more gluttonously a person eats the less he is regarded. They never see a stranger standing by, if even on a march, when going to eat, without asking him to partake of their fare.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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**THE**  
**LIFE AND ADVENTURES**  
**OF**  
**NATHANIEL PEARCE,**  
**WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,**  
**DURING**  
**A RESIDENCE IN ABYSSINIA,**  
**FROM THE YEARS 1810 TO 1819.**

**TOGETHER WITH**  
**MR. COFFIN'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO GONDAR.**

**EDITED BY**  
**J. J. HALLS, ESQ.**

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OF  
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THE warriors of Abyssinia are in general brave, and might be made good soldiers if they were taught discipline. They are very proud of their deeds, but not before they have killed either a Galla, a Taltal, a Shangalla, or one of their own profession, in war. Those who have killed a lion, or an elephant, distinguish themselves by wearing ear-rings, or a small stud in the right ear, like



those worn by the women. For the rhinoceros, the leopard, and the wild buffalo, no mark of distinction is allowed, although the two latter are the most formidable beasts to encounter.

The young Abyssinians of the highest and of the middling class are never satisfied till they have killed either a Galla, a Taltal, or a Shangalla, which, however, they in general accomplish in an insidious and cowardly manner, and it is often revenged in a similar way. A young soldier will go naked for a year or two, purposely to save up a few cloths; with these he flies to the frontier of one of the above-mentioned tribes, where he is sure to find people who have no good-will to either Christians or Pagans, though always at peace with both, and who manage the commerce of exchange of cattle for corn between them, as the Galla have scarcely any cultivated land to the south-east, though they have farther to the westward. Here the young soldier agrees with a person belonging to one of those petty tribes, who is well acquainted with both languages and the country, to take him in disguise into the country of his antagonist, where he soon points out some poor solitary fellow in a by-place, either feeding his flock, or employed in other necessary work, on whom he executes his wicked purpose, and then returns to his native place, where he is met



by all the young men and women, who accompany him to his chief, singing in his praise. After pouring out a multitude of boasting expressions before his chief, he throws down the token of his triumph, for which the chief in general orders a cow to be given to the singers and to those who accompany him, and keeps an open house for that day. The Galla and Taltal act in the same way, giving their cattle for a guide; while the poor Shangalla, who has neither cattle nor cloth, must boldly venture unprotected to revenge himself. I am well acquainted with a priest in the country of Wojjerat, called Cushi Tusfu, who has killed upwards of twenty Galla, and his son, Arnaton\* Guebra Meddin, more than twice that number.

Though they act in this cowardly manner to attain the rank of manhood, they are generally very brave in their wars, when attacked openly by an enemy. They are very good horsemen, though without discipline. Their horses' trappings resemble those represented in the plate of the two horsemen in Mr. Salt's work; the stirrup of iron is mostly of an oval shape, except where it is attached to the stirrup-leather. The bottom part is a little round flat knob to make it easier

\* Arnaton signifies champion.



to the joint of the toe. At times they ride on the great toe only, at others with two or three toes in the stirrup ; but in either case the fore-part of the iron is always between the toes. The ornaments round the horse's neck are in general made of the mane of the zebra, an animal found in great numbers among the Hazorta Galla, who kill them and send their manes to the Christian markets for sale. The Galla also manufacture a curious brass chain to ornament the necks of horses and mules, which they also send to the Christian markets, this being the only kind of work they are capable of executing in a superior manner to the Christians themselves. The bridle-bit, in all parts of the country, is similar to that in Arabia; the reins are made in general of stripes of hippopotamus hide, worked like the lash of the thick hunting-whips in England, and just long enough for the bend of it to reach the front of the saddle.

The men dress as may be seen in the above-mentioned plate. The white drawers sit tight to the thigh, though they have latterly adopted wide trowsers, which reach down a little below the knee, but they are not as yet in general use. Some of the great people prefer a black sheepskin, with long hair, to throw over the shoulders, others those of different animals, such as lions or



leopards; the black leopard, especially, is in great esteem. Their hair, though in general plaited, is always opened out, and made to stand up in a thick bush, when they are going to battle. Those who have slain enemies in other wars distinguish themselves by a silver ornament on the right arm, with a red sash round the head, and a red ribbon tied to the neck of the spear; while those who have only killed a lion or elephant wear a yellow, green, or blue sash. *Chiffer* and *bellor* are other large ornaments, worn on the arms of chiefs, whether they have killed or not; but the ornament called *maldier* is worn by none but those who have killed. It is a kind of oval ring, running to a point, like a horse-collar, at one end, where it opens to be fitted round the waist. They wear one for every person they have killed in war. The long ornament, hanging from the fore-part of the shield, is the skin of a white and black monkey or lemur, called *grazer* in Tigré, and *foeho* in Amhara, which is joined to the skin of a lion's leg and paw. The Abyssinian knife is in general from two to three feet long, and from two and a half to four inches wide in the middle, sharp at the ends, and worn on the right side. When marching to war, they seldom ride their horses, but every one has his horse led before him, while he rides on his mule.



The horses are ridden only in war, at reviews, when accompanying a chief into town, or when exercising. Gojam being a level country, horses there are more worked.

Women of the lower class frequently go to camp with the soldiers, chiefly for the purpose of carrying jars of maize or *tsug*. The great people have also their cook and her servants, who carry the cooking utensils and different articles of provision, such as butter, and a barley-meal, called *bosso*\*. They have also, according to their wealth, from fifty to a hundred women called *gumbonest*, who carry jars of maize or *sowa*. It is surprising how these poor creatures endure their labour, having to pass over mountains and the worst roads, where at times they are obliged to crawl on their hands and feet up steep precipices, with the jars on their backs, yet they are seldom known to break the jars, though ever so much crowded on their march. They always keep together in gangs, in the rear of the army, and in

\* This meal only needs mixing with water, when it becomes fit for eating. Before the barley is ground, it is well parched, and, on the husk coming off, it is put into water. When swelled it is again dried in the sun, and then ground up with a little salt, making a very ready meal when a fire cannot be made without too much delay.

† *Gumbones* take their name from the jar which is called *gumbo*.



front of the *dugin*, or rear-guard. The jar is carried in the same fashion as the women in Abyssinia carry water. It is almost incredible what a weight of water a woman will carry at a time. A young girl, not more than twelve years of age, will carry to a great distance a jar of water, which a strong man could with difficulty lift from the ground. They fill the jar on the bank of the river or spring, as the elevation enables them to get it more easily on the back; a leather strap passes from the neck of the jar round the breast and below the shoulders, and, stooping as they go, they will carry it, though at a slow pace, a long way even up steep roads.

In Hamazen the women intermix with the soldiers when in battle, crying *Selasse! Selasse!* [Trinity! Trinity!] This cry they keep up in a very dismal tone, till the battle is over; but when won, they change it to sounds of rude merriment. The people of Hamazen are seldom known to take the barbarous trophies from the men whom they kill, as is done in most other parts of Abyssinia.

The women never wash, or sew any article of dress; such employment being considered improper for them, and appropriated to the men. Washing is performed by the feet, on the banks of rivers and streams, in a cow's hide, that



is heightened round the sides with stones to make a hollow like a tub ; *shipte* is their substitute for soap ; it is a hard berry, which grows in a cluster, on a bush with thick juicy leaves ; when dry it is ground as they want it for use. It makes the cotton cloths fine and white, and its lather is exactly like that of the best soap.

It is not customary for women to milk cows or goats, and in most parts it would be considered a great disgrace for them to do it ; though indeed there are some women in the southernmost districts of Amhara, who do milk their cows and cattle, the example being shown them by the Galla women, who attend more to their cattle than the men.

To what I have said of the Galla, in the former part of my Journal, I may here add a few facts respecting their habits ; the names of the countries through which the caravans pass to Abyssinia ; and some particulars of their trade. But few slaves come from the Hazorta Galla. Those who come from the Galla district near the kingdom of Shoa pass through Edjow and Wochale into the Amhara. Those more to the westward enter the Christian territories by Agow Mudda and Gojam. The most famous districts for slaves are Yer Angero, Gingaro, Yamha, Bonja, Lakar, Jemar, Narria, Sedammar, Nono, and Gooderoo.



A considerable quantity of civets also come from those districts, which they in general find in the rocks, where the animal resorts, though numbers keep them in cages, and when well fed they produce the more civet. This article, as well as slaves, is purchased by the *cofla*, for beads, small looking-glasses, brass trinkets, and salt: red cloths and iron are also taken for traffic by the *cofla*. The Narria slaves are most esteemed; they are in general very fair, good-tempered, and make excellent wives and servants. The men in those districts are always on the look-out on the borders, whether in war or not, for the young persons of both sexes who may be attending their flocks, whom they steal and sell to the *cofla*. Their customs are like those of the Hazorta Galla in regard to their women. When a man goes out on business and leaves his wife at home, if he finds on his return a spear standing at the door of his hut, he will not enter, knowing that some other man is with his wife, but he goes away to allow time for the departure of the visiter; whether it be a stranger, neighbour, or brother, no offence is taken, it being the custom of the country. When the husband comes home, he asks his wife what the stranger gave her, and if she made a good bargain he commends, but if a bad one, he chides her.



In all the Galla districts, except those converted to the Mahomedan or the Christian religion, the inhabitants, on the appearance of the small-pox, burn their villages, and retire to a place as far off as their district will allow. As the diseased are burnt with their homes, fathers, mothers, and the dearest relations, alike fall a sacrifice to this barbarous practice. Horrid as it may appear, the Galla think it a very prudent mode of proceeding, and reproach the Christians for not doing the same, as they say numbers of their brethren are thus preserved by the sacrifice of a few.

Coffa is a province peopled by Christians, where the *coffa* from Gondar also trades, and it is about thirty days' journey from the latter place. A large river to the S.W., called Abiad, or white river, divides them from the Coucha Galla, with whom they are perpetually at war. Another large river to the N.E. divides them from the Yer Angero Galla, and it is called Gooderoo \*. A priest from Coffa gave me this account, and he added that they have no books, but that their houses of worship were all dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and that they acknowledge no other

\* \* This very remarkable account is fully confirmed by Mr. Coffin, and appears well worthy of notice.—*Editor.*



saints but Gabriel, Michael, and St. John the baptist. Their priests wear sheep-skin caps, have long hair, and in general ride upon horses. They baptise their infants in the rivers, and eat no raw meat like the Christians of Abyssinia, neither do they eat fish, though their rivers abound with them. In regard to their women they have the same customs as the Abyssinians. Their king is chosen by the priests;—their houses of worship are built in lonesome places, so that no light can be seen within, and the sacrament is administered by candle-light. The same priest also declared that his was a finer country than Abyssinia; that the rains are the same, only a little forwarder, and he told me he had seen people as white as myself visit the king from a distant country to the west of theirs. The current money of the country is salt, as in Tigré, though much more rare. Their language differs very much from that of the Galla.

I now return to the Abyssinian usages, and shall proceed to give some account of the regulations in their capital towns, and their manner of collecting duties.

A Negade Ras, which signifies the head of the merchants, holds the office of collector under government, and pays a certain sum yearly for it, whether trade be slack or brisk. At Gondar, the



Negade Ras pays yearly to government five hundred *wakeahs* of gold, which is called *negus gibba*, [king's duties ;] and twenty *wakeahs* worth of goods, as a tax to government for his office, called *mershomyer*.

The reason for this large sum being paid in Gondar is the traffic in slaves, horses, and mules, carried on there—every slave, horse, or mule, which enters the market, paying to the Negade two drams of gold, a sum equal to two dollars. Every large elephant's tooth, above a certain size, pays one dram, and four under size the same as one large one. Each mule or ass-load of foreign goods from the coast pays one *wakeah* : a man's load of the same commodities pays six drams of gold ; horned cattle pay no duty. The cook of the king's household collects small duties upon all butter, pepper, onions, wood, &c. brought into the market, not according to a regular standard, but as she may think proper in her mercy towards the poor peasants. At Adowa, the Negade Ras pays only ninety *wakeahs* as king's duty, but twenty as *mershomyer*, and the governor of the town receives besides two-thirds of all the duties upon foreign goods from Massowa, as well as those upon slaves, ivory, and civet, from the interior. There is no duty on horses or mules at Adowa, there being no regular market for them.



A mule or ass-load of foreign articles, on entering that town, pays half a *wakeah* of gold, or goods to that amount; a man's load two drams and a half; one large elephant's tooth two drams, and four small teeth the same; which makes a wide difference between the customs of Gondar and Adowa. A slave pays half a *wakeah*, and a matchlock-gun the same, if newly brought up from the coast. On each man's load of cotton from Walkayt or from Massowa the Negade Ras receives two pieces of cotton cloth, each equal to two dollars, and one pound of cotton. All the duties upon cotton are the Negade Ras's own privilege, government receiving nothing from it. The cotton from Massowa sells at the rate of from eight to ten pounds per cloth, or dollar.

The Shiré and Walkayt cotton, which has in general larger pods, with very fine cotton, and much smaller seeds, sells at the rate of twelve and fourteen pounds per cloth, or dollar. Coffee, which grows in Agow Mudda and in most of the Galla districts, sells in the market of Gondar at the rate of from fifteen to twenty pounds per dollar; at Adowa it sells frequently at from ten to twelve pounds per dollar. The Christians have a prejudice against it, because it is used so frequently by the Mahomedans, and the *cofta*



seldom takes any large quantity to the coast on account of the great distance, though no duty is paid upon it by the Christians; but were it to become an article of great trade matters would soon be placed on a different footing. At Antàlo the Negade Ras pays to government forty-five *wakeahs* of gold, as king's duty, and ten *wakeahs*, or goods to that amount, as *mershomyer*; the governor also receives the third of all the duties upon slaves, horses, mules, and ivory, the same as at Adowa. The duties upon foreign goods, direct from Massowa, are the Negade Ras's own perquisite. There is no duty upon matchlocks at Antàlo. At Antàlo, the governor receives the duties upon salt, which are put into his storehouse, and, when wanted, are paid to servants and troops about his premises for wages. The duty on salt, that enters the town on market-days for traffic, is distributed among the favourites of the household; the governor's or Ras's wives have a certain quantity, and others of his favourites and relatives a proportionate allowance. I had myself, from the latter end of the year 1805 till 1808, six pieces of salt allowed me every Wednesday, which is the market-day, out of these duties; and afterwards my allowance was raised to ten, till 1810, from which time, Mr. Coffin coming into the country and remaining



with me, it was augmented to twenty; but, shortly afterwards, my servants quarrelling about their turn with the servants of one of the Ras's wives, when receiving the salt from the people as they entered the market-place, and of which the lady complained, the Ras thought proper to order a yearly allowance to me and Mr. Coffin, of one thousand pieces of salt, instead of our receiving it weekly at the toll. The salt is considered as a gift to the favourites about the Ras's person, to find their table with butter, onions, and pepper.

As I have before-mentioned, no one except the king's silversmith dares weigh the gold brought to market, or paid in private bargains, upon pain of a heavy forfeit. This officer bears the name of *buggerunde*. In Gondar he receives two *amolli*, which is two pieces of salt for every *wakeah* of gold he weighs. In Adowa, he gets a *gribbaub*, which is a quarter piece of cloth. In Antàlo he receives four pieces of salt, and at Socotta, in Lasta, two pieces, per *wakeah*, as at the latter place all duties are one half of those at Antàlo. These *buggerundes* pay nothing for their office, but it is given by the governor, as a favour, to the best or oldest workman in their towns.

The cloths that pass current, in buying and selling, for a dollar are of the coarse kind called



*firge*, and measure about twenty *peaks* in length, and nearly two in breadth; and in marketing they are torn into halves, quarters, half-quarters, *peaks*, and spans, which make their small money. The markets are always held in a regular standing place, in general without the town, except at Gondar and Antàlo, where they are held in the centre of the town. A small market for petty things is kept up the whole of the week, except on Sundays, opposite to the gate of the governor's house in Gondar, Adowa, and Antàlo. They frequently kill meat for sale in Gondar and Antàlo, but at Adowa very seldom, and that only on holydays. It is the more common custom for every one to kill his own cattle. The lower class of people join together and buy a cow, which is killed and divided among them. On yearly holydays, those who are in service about a chief's premises have no occasion to buy, for they in general find sufficient at home. Meat is remarkably cheap: fine fat cows, or oxen, cost from two and a half to four pieces of cloth; of fine fat goats two or three may be purchased for a piece of cloth; sheep from three to six, according to their size, which depends much on the country where they are bred. Asmo, Derra, and the cold district of Samen, produce the finest sheep in Abyssinia. Begemder has also a good



breed, but chiefly valued for their skin, which forms the common dress of the inhabitants. Honey and butter are sold by the same measure as corn, all sorts of which are remarkably cheap except when the country has suffered from hail or the locust. In general a *churn* or *interlam* can be procured for a piece of cloth, which is about eight English bushels. Honey and butter are in general from half a bushel to three pecks per cloth. In all the markets it is a woman who has the office of measuring the corn which is sold, and her servants are scattered about the market with a measure in their hands for that purpose. For every bushel they measure they receive a small measure called *durgo*, being about half a pint. Any one in favour with the lady in office, on sending their servant to her, will receive the corn they want to buy, measured with a large measure, which no one dares to object to, it being called the government measure, about half a pint larger than the market measure. I have often received this favour from my friend Ozoro Suggee, who had the office at Adowa for many market-days.

If Christmas falls on a market-day, no market is held; if the same falls on a fast-day, they fast the day before, and kill and make merry on the day upon which it falls. Christmas-day is not so much respected as *Tumkut*, or baptism day,



which is twelve days after Christmas-day. On Tumkut, as at Mascal, the troops of different provinces are reviewed by their chiefs. The altars also from the different churches are taken to the river-side and put into small tents, when, after certain prayers and the Gospel of St. John have been read, men, boys, and girls, jump into the river. Those who do not like to bathe stand on the bank, while a priest throws water over them with his hand from the river. The higher class of people have a jar of this water taken to their homes, with which they bathe themselves: after the bathing is over the sacrament is administered to such as choose to receive it, every one who can afford it bringing, the evening before, bread, beer, and maize, or *sowa*, for the priests, who keep feasting on them the whole night, and some even are still intoxicated when they have to administer the sacrament. When the altars are taken up to be moved to their respective churches, the horsemen attend, as well as parties of boys and girls, singing to the beat of a drum, as before described. The altars are not taken out of church on Christmas-day.

The young men about Christmas time play at a game called *hersa*, in Tigré, and *gama*, in Amhara, which is similar to our English game of hockey. The Tigré throw the ball up with the



left hand, and strike it, before it reaches the ground, with a large stick made for the purpose; the Amhara play on the ground, as in England. Several districts meet every year on Christmas day, at Sallabella, where they play against each other, but frequent quarrels happen, and lives are lost. The women also make merry on the Christmas-day, composing and singing silly verses as Christmas carols. When at church they say the creed frequently over and over; it differs very little from ours, and has much the same meaning.

Acquaintances visit each other on all yearly holydays, making merry and drinking to excess; and they have clubs, called *marver*, which in general consist of twelve persons, but sometimes more, formed for the purpose of friendly communication; the men are in general in one *marver*, and the women in another, but when the man happens to be absent from his, the wife often attends in his stead, and the same with the husband if the wife be absent. These *marvers* for men are a kind of benefit societies, the members of which are sworn to be brethren, and always to assist each other in need, and above all not to wrong each other's bed; though in this respect they are not very attentive to their vows, which is not thought much of, there being little



or no jealousy in the hearts of the Abyssinians with regard to their women. The meetings are held once a month, upon certain holydays that are fixed upon when the club is first formed. Each *marver* has a priest, who drinks and eats at free cost, and he opens the meeting, when all are assembled by saying the Lord's prayer, which they all repeat together; he then breaks bread, first to give to the poor at the door, and then to the whole *marver* in rotation. They break up in general very late, some in a state of intoxication: though the higher class of Abyssinians mostly have prudence enough not to get over-intoxicated; still there are numbers who drink to such excess, that they fall off their mules on their way home, and, if no one is at hand to look after them, they are left to the mercy of the hyænas, which range all night through the towns and villages. Many who love drinking in company will, if they can afford it, belong to several of these *marvers*, that are kept on different holydays. I belonged, for some years, to several of these clubs, yet, although they are sworn as before said, I found by experience that they were no truer to one another than other neighbours in general, and only resort to the club for company's sake and for drinking. They seldom quarrel it is true, at these meetings, though they



are sometimes known to kill each other when intoxicated, especially among the lower orders.

All great men strive to multiply relationship by giving their daughters to the sons of powerful chiefs, and engaging the daughters of other chiefs for their sons. A chief will never give two daughters to men of one district, but, on the contrary, he prefers those of the districts farthest from his own; for, if he were to give and take daughters from his neighbours only, he would have no other connections than he formerly had, as the true natives of every district consider themselves by birth attached to each other's cause. When a chief makes war, or has war made against him, he calls on all those who have become related to his family by marriage to give him aid; which makes a wide difference in the force he can muster to what he would have had, had he not formed connections abroad. The lower class, such as peasants and labouring people, in general marry near home, and they are always ready to fight for the chief to whom their sons and daughters-in-law are subject: there are also many hundred settlers in different districts, with their families, both of Amhara and Tigré, who are obliged to appear, when the drum is beat for war, no respect being had to their occupation; for, whatever it may be, either son or father must appear,



When the drum is beat to prepare for war, which is always in the market-place, throughout the province, the person employed to make the proclamation public begins with beating in very slow time on the large drum, enlivening it by degrees, and ending with very quick strokes, which he repeats over and over again, till he has drawn as many of the populace around him as he thinks can hear at one time. He then calls out with a loud voice, "Clothe your servants, feed your horses, prepare your provisions, cut down and clear the regular roads of trees and bushes, in all quarters. I am not determined as yet which road I may take, but I march on such a day ; take care that none remain at home. If the father is weak the son must appear, and if the son, the father, on pain of your property being forfeited to the *wotada* [soldiers] and your persons to me. It is not my tongue that speaks to this effect, but the governor's,"—naming the prince. This speech is repeated several times over, and sometimes every market-day for weeks before the time of marching to camp. The chief never lets the people know on whom the war is to be made, till the moment they are assembled in camp, for fear of giving the enemy previous warning to prepare themselves against an attack, to drive off their cattle, and to put their wives and children into



safety. Indeed, it often happens that the proclamation will direct a contrary road to be cleared, purposely to deceive the enemy.

On returning from war, those who have offended by not attending to the proclamation are soon found out; the informer getting a certain quantity of cattle for his information, and, as a punishment, the chief sends what soldiers he thinks fit to plunder the premises of the delinquents, which goes in part of their pay, while the offender himself is chained, and left to the mercy of his chief, who takes care to keep him closely confined, till he has drawn from every one of his friends a part of their property, as a subscription for his release.

The Abyssinians have a regular book or code of laws, called *Fettar Negus*, which however is seldom attended to. It is taken from different books of the Old and New Testament, and, though very severe, it would be better to attend to it duly than to decide without any law at all, as is commonly the case. The chiefs are in general tyrants over their dependents, and every one of the latter will strive to keep in favour with the soldiers, who eat at the chief's table what he has wrongfully taken from his subjects. Hundreds of these lazy soldiers lurk constantly about his house, in hopes of being dispatched to take in custody some poor individual, with whom the chief may be offended,



or of being sent on a message to some person of quality, for both which errands they are sure to receive a handsome remuneration, which will keep them in town for a few weeks, drinking and committing every sort of debauchery.

Some of the chiefs amuse themselves from morning till night, except in the hours after dinner, which they dedicate to sleep, in playing at chess, or *santeroge*, or at a game called *gibberta*. The latter is played on two small square boards, with nine holes hollowed out in each, and with fifty four iron bells, that is three to each hole; the boards are made to fit each other: they have no other but childish games.

Many are very fond of hunting. Partridges and guinea-fowl are the only winged game they eat. There are various species of the former. The Abyssinians are in general remarkably expert marksmen, and kill partridges and guinea-fowl, as well as deer, with a single shot, that is, an iron ball, no leaden balls being used in the country. The great men commonly hunt with dogs, of which they have several different species, among which those of a small greyhound kind are very good hunters; others, not much unlike the pointers of Europe, are also very good: but there is a small dog that resembles a jackall in its pointed nose and bushy tail, which he carries curling on



his back, like the fox-dogs in Europe, which is the best hunter of all, especially for partridges and guinea-fowl.

On a day appointed for this sport, every hunter goes out with his dog, which he leads with a small chain or cord. The chiefs, with a number of their soldiers, when arrived at the place where they intend to hunt, divide themselves into different groups, and seat themselves upon heights, at a distance from each other, so as to command an open view of every wood and thicket in the valley below them. The hunters meanwhile descend into the valley, in different directions, and let loose their dogs the moment a partridge is started, when the chief and his soldiers halloo, "Look out! She is gone to your right, to your left, &c.," their noise echoing along the sides of the mountains, while the hunters follow close to their dogs, which have good noses, and seldom lose scent when once in it, until they have taken their game. On taking a partridge from a dog's mouth, the hunter in general cuts off one of its legs, and gives to the dog to encourage him. Both partridges and guinea-fowl seldom take more than two or three flights before they take to running or squatting in the thickets, especially if much hallooming be kept up by the soldiers and hunters around. The large



mountain partridges are not esteemed more than the guinea-fowl, the meat being equally coarse; but those of the smaller species are very fine and tender, especially a small red-winged partridge which is in high request with the great. Snipes, geese, ducks, and all kinds of water-fowl, are held in detestation, not only from being deemed unfit to eat, but because it is thought a crime to handle or keep them through mere curiosity; consequently the rivers, lakes, and marshes, abound with numerous species of ducks and beautiful water-fowl. All kinds of deer, of which there are numerous species, are eaten; some people dislike the deer called *madoqua*, and will not eat of its flesh through a superstitious notion of its being often seen on the sides of mountains intermixed with droves of monkeys. The small antelope, called *sissa*, is most esteemed. The *aggerzeen* is also liked for *brindo*, as well as the *tailhe-buddu*, in Tigré, and *faqar* in Amhara, Boa-Tora, Ducoola, which are all reckoned capital *brindo*, if brought home fresh.

The hare is, above all animals, held in abomination, and those who touch it are reckoned unclean, until they are well washed or absolved with a prayer by a priest. They are very numerous in places not frequented by the different species of wild beasts that devour them, and are generally very fat.



Hogs are numerous in the Kolla, or warm parts of the country, and their flesh also is accounted impure by the priests, yet numbers eat it as a cure for rheumatic pains and other disorders. These animals are seldom fat, except in the harvest months, when they are very destructive to corn of all sorts, if not closely watched. The hunting of them is excellent sport. When found in their holes or pits, the hunters fill the entrance with dry *tuff* straw, which, being set on fire, causes such a stifling smoke within, the mouth of the pit being covered with a cow's hide, that the hog makes a push through all in a desperate manner, sometimes with a litter of young ones, but seldom gets clear of the spears and dogs at the mouth of the pit. Samen produces the finest dogs in Abyssinia for hunting hogs and monkeys, as well as house-dogs. The mountainous country seldom produces any sport for horsemen in hog-hunting. The leopard is their greatest enemy, which animal is also very partial to monkey's flesh, it being frequently observed by country people that it has taken a large monkey in preference to a kid.

In all parts of Abyssinia wild beasts of different species are numerous. The hyæna is a neighbour of all villages, and by night patrols the streets of the largest towns, though the most



cowardly animal of any I know. They frequently kill asses, several making their attack at once, which is always on the hind-quarters. The first that gets hold hangs with all its weight to keep the animal from kicking, till the others devour him. They clear the towns and villages of the dead cattle thrown out of the pens, and of all sorts of carrion. I have caused numbers to shoot themselves by tying a pistol to a stake well driven into the ground, with a string from the trigger passed round another stake behind, and brought to the mouth of the pistol. To this is tied a piece of meat, and stones are placed so as to prevent the bait from being taken any other way than in front. In this manner I have killed three in one night. Jackalls are sometimes killed in the same manner. The *sara* is frequently seen in the church-yards, and roots out the dead. The spotted hyæna is called *gib*. These make a loud howling noise by night, but seldom are to be seen in the day time, except when well sought for in the wildest parts of the forest. I have taken them young, but never could tame them. Indeed I have observed in general that the most cowardly animals are the most difficult to be made familiar. Several different species I have kept on my premises, which I had caught when quite young, but never could make any



so familiar as the lion. I have mentioned a lioness which I tamed, and sent to Captain Rudland, the Company's agent at Mocha, in 1812, without teeth or claws, which I had taken out when quite young; and I have seen many about the premises of chiefs, perfectly familiar and harmless, though possessed of all their natural weapons. The leopard, if taken very young, may be made tame, till it comes to know its own power, when it immediately turns wild and savage.

There is a very curious, though small, animal, which is very bold, called *chaw ambisson*, which signifies the lion's cat. I have tried often to get one quite young, but never had the good-fortune to procure any, but such as were half grown. This animal is about the height of the largest terrier dog, and nearly of the colour of the lion, but lighter, intermixed with yellowish spots on the breast. The claws are very large, especially those of the fore-paws; and they are very destructive to kids and deer. I endeavoured in vain to tame one, that I might send it to England alive; but found it impossible. I however took a sketch of it when alive, and the skin I sent to Mr. Salt, in England, with the skins of several other animals, that I was obliged to kill after keeping them for a long time in hopes of



taming them. Mr. Salt gave them to the British Museum.

The civet-cat is also an animal difficult to tame; it is a beautiful creature, especially the female, which produces no civet, and has not the disagreeable smell the male has. The civet is in some parts of the world much esteemed for its odour; it sells for four or five dollars per ounce in Arabia, and, I am told, twice that sum when taken to Morocco. I succeeded in taming one of these little animals, which I brought out of the country with me; it is very cleanly, extremely docile, and plays a thousand amusing tricks.

There are many destructive animals in Abyssinia, which I could never get into my possession. The *tockla* is not larger than a common-sized dog, with a long jaw, like a crocodile, but otherwise resembling a dog; it is dreaded by all other animals, which sneak away when they hear it yelp. A large animal of the leopard kind, called *wobo*, is very destructive to travellers in the parts which it infests. These beasts are seldom killed, being unknown to the eastward of the Tacazzé, and most frequent about Waldubba, Walkayt, and Ras-el-feel. A soldier of the Gumarsh Hilier Mariam's of Samen killed one with a large elephant gun; its skin was larger than



that of any ox, and he had it hung upon a tree, opposite to his premises, for the people to look at it, being such a scarce animal.

The *gersilla*, or black leopard, is common in the Galla districts, to the south-westward. Its skin is much esteemed by the Abyssinians for a dress, and sells very dear. Wild buffaloes are numerous in the wildernesses to the north-west of Shiré, Walkayt, and in Ras-el-feel. Their skins make the best shields in the country, and their horns fine black drinking-cups, which the Abyssinians know how to manufacture extremely well. The hide of the rhinoceros is also good for shields, and the horns are manufactured into hilts for their large knives and swords.

The Abyssinians have a root called *merquotsar*, in Tigré, and *shemkirk*, in Amhara, which they use to kill a lion when he becomes a frequent marauder on their premises. This root is ground with a seed, called *incurdad*, into flour, and an old worn-out bullock is killed upon the spot which they know the lion is most likely to visit by night. When skinned, its entrails are taken out, and the prime parts of the flesh are rubbed over with the flour, as the lion never touches the entrails of any animal. After eating of this flesh the lion becomes stupid, as if intoxicated, and is not able to get away till daylight, when he is



attacked by the natives, who soon dispatch him with guns or spears.

The leopard is not to be taken in this way, for he never preys upon any animal but when alive. It is very singular, though wild beasts in general are afraid of fire, that the leopard, when fired at by night, if not hit, flies for vengeance to the spot whence the flash proceeds; for which reason, men who keep watch over their flocks with a matchlock have their spears in readiness in case of missing. These last animals are more numerous in Wajjerat than in any other part of Abyssinia; and their skins are frequently worn as a dress by the soldiers. The lions about Wajjerat have in general longer and thicker manes, and are more of a sandy red colour than those of any other part of the country. The inhabitants of Wajjerat, who have killed either a Galla or an enemy belonging to any other tribe in battle, wear a stripe of the lion's mane round the head.

The Kolla parts of Abyssinia are much infested with large snakes, which are frequently killed by gunners, and often young deer and partridges are found in their entrails\*; there are

\* Mr. Coffin informs me that there is an enormous snake found in the southern parts of the country, which sometimes grows to the length of sixty feet and upwards. He was present when one of these enormous reptiles was shot, which measured



many smaller species in most parts of the country that are very venomous, and in the rainy season a very poisonous green snake, which is much dreaded, is met with by the river sides.

The land tortoise, such as I have seen at the Cape of Good Hope, is frequently found; it is called in Tigré *abbagovica*, in Amhara, *uller*; I never met with any in the rivers, though I have been told that small ones are often seen in standing waters.

The *gomari*, or hippopotamus, is very common in the Tacazzé and Abawi. The inhabitants kill them for their skins and teeth; of the former they make whips, and the latter they sell to the merchants of the *cofla*. Except the ravages they commit among the corn, they are very harmless.

The crocodile inhabits all the larger rivers; he is often known to bite, and sometimes to strike people with his tail, when crossing the stream on foot or on the side of a *tonquor*, or raft.

There is also in the same rivers an animal called *ongguve*, very little smaller than the cro-

more than forty feet, and had the appearance of being a young one. It was armed on the forehead with horns which the Abyssinians use as musical instruments, in their military bands. The body is of a prodigious thickness, and the skin impenetrable to a musket-shot, so that the only chance of killing them is by hitting them with an iron ball in the eye. It is a most dangerous reptile, and very destructive to man and to almost every other animal.—*Editor.*



codile, and nearly of the same shape ; the jaws are not so long, and it is more like the lizard, and smooth all over, having no fins or scales along the back and tail, like the crocodile, no teeth, and the skin being quite yellow, with black stripes across the back and tail ; it is very beautiful either in or out of the water. I never heard of its hurting any body when swimming.

Another animal met with in the rivers is like the beaver ; its head is quite round, it has small eyes, and the holes of the ears are scarcely visible ; its teeth turn inward, and are very blunt. This animal is covered with a short grey fur ; its tail from the rump to the point is solid oily fat, but the other parts of the body are not so fat or oily. I shot one at Adowa, which had its place of resort within twenty yards of the houses. They make large holes in the banks of the rivers, and, if disturbed when basking in the sun, crawl into the water ; but, when they see any person looking at them, they drop at once into the water and are seldom seen afterwards. They are rarely killed, being very sly. The one I shot was discovered by dogs in a hole difficult for a person to get at ; but, after cutting away a little of the bank to give foot-hold to the dogs, they soon brought him to the mouth of the hole, and I shot him in the head. The Gusmati Guebra Michael, being then



in Adowa, sent for the skin, and, after taking as much as he wanted for his own use, he gave stripes of it to his acquaintances as a cure for rheumatic pains, as it is pretended that when worn round the ankle, or wrist, the rheumatism will never attack, nor the crocodile bite, the wearer when swimming. I never could learn the true name of this animal, no ten people calling it alike. Lizards are numerous, some very large, and of beautiful colours.

There are numerous large birds in Abyssinia, of the vulture kind; one very vicious and nearly as large as a turkey; another not quite so large, with a hairy beard, which would be called an eagle in Europe, but the Abyssinians call them only as they do all birds of the hawk kind, in Amhara, *arenora*, and in Tigré, *shiller*. *Nissa* is the name for an eagle, which they derive only from the Scripture. A kind of hawk, called *guddeguddee*, about the size of the English buzzard, with a bluish back, milk-white breast, and a short red tail, is frequently seen on corn-stacks, or sailing in the air. It is reckoned very unlucky to kill them, for which reason they are so tame that, on passing close by them, they seldom fly away. When persons set out on a journey in the morning, and pass a *guddeguddee* to their right, with its white breast towards them, they are satisfied



that their journey will be prosperous ; but if it is seen on the left, some are superstitious enough to turn back and wait for another opportunity. This superstition exists only among the country people.

There is also a beautiful hawk, as large as the *guddeguddee*, though longer and narrower in the body, every feather of which is jet black, except six wing-feathers which are white, and only to be seen when flying. It has a plume of feathers growing from its head, quite straight and about three or four inches long, tapering to a point, which has at times the appearance of a horn. It has no other name than *tuckuse* in Amhara, and in Tigré *sulem sheler*, or black hawk. The most ravenous hawk is a small one, like the English sparrow-hawk, called *sequedem*. The common Bramin kites, like those in India, are numerous, and bald-headed vultures are frequently seen, but not so commonly as at Mas-sowa. White and brown owls are very common, the latter very large, with a peak of feathers on each side of the head, which appears at a distance like cat's ears. Bats of different sizes are very common, and swallows of various kinds are also numerous. Sparrows are in great plenty, about the same size as the English sparrow, and both sexes are exactly in colour like our



hen, the cock having no black under the neck or beak.

There are few good singing birds, but their plumage in general is very beautiful. There is a bird common about the houses, with a red breast and a white spot on the wings, the other parts of the body being entirely black; it sings beautifully, and is the only bird I know of that does so, though numbers have a strong shrill note that produces a very striking effect from the mountains.

Birds of various species change their feathers in the month of June and July, as the rains begin, to the most beautiful colours. People who are inexperienced imagine them to be birds of passage, and even the generality of the natives think so; but I have ascertained the contrary, not only by frequently watching those at liberty throughout the year, but also by keeping them in cages; for nearly nine months both cock and hen are alike, but, as soon as the weather begins to cloud and the rains commence, the cock changes his feathers to a beautiful colour, quite different from their former hues; the hen also changes her feathers, but to the same colours as before. Birds, called *oaf-mascal* by the natives, are those cock-birds which have changed their colour, and which begin to dis-



appear about the time of Mascal, in September; one of them is not quite so large as a sparrow, with beautiful red and black feathers, and scarcely any tail; another of the same name, a little smaller, is of a beautiful blue. *Hellet* is also a beautiful bird, which takes that name in the rains, and is entirely black, except a bright yellow or red spot on the wing; the tail very long, though during the dry season it is of a grey dirty colour, with scarcely any tail; it frequents the long grass in marshes and corn fields. The *amballa* is a beautiful yellow bird; in the rains numerous other birds also change their plumage. The small bird, called *was*, not larger than the English tomtit, of a dirty grey colour in the dry season, becomes a beautiful black and white bird, with four black feathers in his tail nearly a foot long. A number of the skins of these various beautiful birds I sent to Lord Mountnorris.

Many of the birds in Abyssinia build curious hanging nests, several hundred sometimes hanging to one tree, which forms a beautiful sight. The cock, during the rains, hangs to the mouth of his nest, fluttering his wings, and singing, not very melodiously, to the hen sitting within; their noise is heard at a great distance, and the nearer the more unpleasant. In August, Sep-



tember, and part of October, the different coloured flowers and birds, on every mountain and valley, produce a most delightful effect.

The crow and the raven are very common; they are not unlike those in England, except that the latter has a large white spot on the back part of the head and neck, and some brown feathers on the wings. There are several kinds of storks, all which, with the exception of one, are, I believe, birds of passage; this is a well known species, large, and called by the name of *ferras scotan*, the devil's horse. Another large white stork, which follows the locusts and devours them, is much esteemed by the Abyssinians for the good it does when those insects invade their country. It is always found in great flocks, and is called *raser*. The *worra* is well a known bird in Abyssinia, with beautiful shining dark blue feathers, commonly seen about *kolqual* trees; *Dofters* make use of its liver and other parts in preparing their charms. The *gouramile* is a bird the noise of which is not much unlike the sound of a fife, and is heard in all the wild places. Travellers remark from what quarter its note comes, when they pass, and if a-head, a little to the left, they are doubtful of that day's journey being fortunate. Baharnegash Yasous, of Digan, when accompanying me down to the coast, in



January, 1810, turned back after going one day's journey, from this superstition, and endeavoured to persuade me to halt with my people another day before I proceeded. Few birds only have particular names ; in general they are named after the noise which they make and the places they resort to, or the food to which they are most partial.

There are no parrots or paroquets, except one kind, which is a small green one like the common green paroquet of Madras and other parts of India, but it has no more tail than the length of the tip of the wing ; it frequents the *kolqual* tree in general.

Fish are numerous in all the rivers, but of few kinds ; I cannot say that I have seen any more than three, which have been before described.

When any chief wishes for the sport of fishing, which is frequently the case in Lent, he assembles all his household, and with the seed of a tree called the *berberrer*, which grows in pods like beans, they march to the part of the river where they intend to fish. The seed mentioned is previously well pounded in a mortar, till it becomes an oily paste. The chief and his nobility seat themselves in the most likely places for taking the fish in their small bag-nets, which they have fastened to a hoop and that to the end of a long



cane. The *berberrer* paste is divided among the servants, each taking a quantity in his cloth. They in general point out one whom they know to be a drunkard, or one that is intoxicated by very little drink, to go into the water the first instance, and, after he has pronounced, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy-Ghost," he begins to strain the *berberrer* through his cloth, when the servants follow his example, jumping into the water, and, swimming where it is deep, strain the *berberrer* through their cloths till it is all dissolved. It turns the water white, and the number of people splashing about renders it muddy. The fish soon make their appearance on the surface of the water; each strives to take the greatest number of them with his bag-net, while the servants do the same with their cloths or by hand. The *berberrer* affects the fish for several miles down the river; the larger sort recover, but the small *lombes* are mostly killed by its poison. The largest *barki* I ever saw was about three feet long, and the only one I ever met with of that size, thick in proportion, like the large dace in shape. I have very commonly seen the *ambazza* nearly three feet and a half long, especially in the Tacazzé. When the fishing is over, the chief returns. His servants bring in what they have taken separately,



which, after supplying his own *abbuzer*, he distributes among his friends. As I have before mentioned, they are very particular in cleaning the fish, cutting off the tails and fins, taking out the eyes and gills, and scraping off every scale. When cooked, as I have before described, the *selafe*, or the *abbuzer*, who has the office of standing before the master to help and feed him, is very particular in picking out the bones piece by piece, which she rolls up in a piece of *taff* bread, and puts either into the mouth or hand as the master requires. The other *selafes* do the same for those eating at table.

The Abyssinians, after eating, always wipe the hands and mouth with a piece of bread, as nothing is reckoned more disgusting than to lick the fingers. When the chief, or master, or mistress, wash their hands, before and after meals, all the company stand up, and hold their cloths before them, and offer their cloths as a towel to them to wipe their hands on. When great people sneeze, every person who is near cries, *Isgare Marta Guiti!* [God forgive you, master!] Those who serve out the drink taste it first, by pouring a little into the left hand, from which they drink it, and then, wiping the bottle, or horn, with their cloth, present it to the master. Those servants who bring in the victuals from the cook's



**CUSTOMS OBSERVED IN EATING. 43**

house taste every one of the dishes which they bring before they are served up.

The Abyssinians have a dislike to the flesh of the cock, and never eat it after the bird is full grown.

Having now given to the best of my ability a plain statement of the manners, customs, and natural productions of Abyssinia, I shall resume my Journal.



## CHAPTER XII.

Buildings undertaken by the Ras—Bashaw Abdalla released by Ras Guebra—General tranquillity of the Country—Death of Ras Guebra and of Ras Liban—Sanguinary Revenge of the latter—Homoda, son of Liban—Hostilities between Guzo and Gojee—Curious coincidence of English and Abyssinian Words—Collection of Contributions for bringing an Abuna, or Patriarch, from Egypt—The Nayib of Massowa—Invasion and Plunder of his Territories—Arrival of the Abuna at Massowa—Restitution made by the Abyssinians to the Nayib—Pearce dispossessed of his house at Chelicut by the Abuna—Reception of the Abuna at Chelicut—He seizes Pearce's Garden—His Rapacious Demands—His Proclamation relative to the Coptic Religion—Rebellion of Chiefs in the Southern Districts and in Tigré, and their Defeat—Further Encroachments of the Abuna on the Property of Pearce—Resistance made by his People—Interdict issued in consequence—Speech of Waxum Comfu—Destructive Hail-Storm—The Chiefs remonstrate with the Abuna in behalf of Pearce and Coffin—Fireworks—Reconciliation with the Abuna—Pearce sells his Cattle.

THE Ras having no hostility with any of the other chiefs, who had now become afraid of him, passed his time in building a wall round his church at Chelicut, and in paving a broad footway, from the outer gate to the church. He also built a new house for his wife Ozoro Sean, her former residence having been burned by accident, from sparks rising from the cooking-house and falling upon the thatch. He frequently sent



messengers to Ras Guebra, desiring the release of Basha Abdalla, whom he had so long kept in chains upon the mountain Amba Hai; but for a long time Guebra begged that the Ras would consider the treachery of Bashaw Abdalla, and the danger to which he should be exposed from his artfulness, if Abdalla were once clear out of Samen. However, finding the Ras constant in his desire, he released him and his youngest son Mahomet, whom he sent to the Ras, and kept his eldest son, Sardoc, in chains till he forced him to turn Christian.

November 20th. Bashaw Abdalla arrived at Mucculla, where the Ras then was. He was honourably received by the old gentleman, who next day ordered the drum to be beat, to proclaim Bashaw Abdalla Negade Ras, or head of the custom-house officers, both in Adowa and Antàlo.

The country still continued in a state of tranquillity; the Ras amused himself by changing his residence every twenty days or month, to his favourite towns and country seats, namely, Antàlo, Chelicut, Mucculla, Fellegdarro, Gibba, Lama, and Guravdeukduc in Wojjerat. In these places he kept his feasts and fasts, with the greatest comfort; but, though he had no enemy whatever to trouble his mind, I have often heard him say



that he wished for war, but could find no one to give him occasion to quarrel.

January, or Fur, the 5th, 1815, he kept his great holyday, Abbagarva, at Antàlo, where he was visited by Ras Ilo and his brother Palam-barus Woldi Toclù of Lasta. Nothing particular happened in any part of the country, for a long time. Ras Guxo remained quiet, and indulged himself, as well as the Ras did, at his favourite towns, Deverertavor and Livo, and the Ras Marro, governor of Gondar, and Ras-el-feel, remained at his seats in Quora and Dembea.

May the 5th. News was brought of the death of Ras Guebra; the Ras was, or appeared to be, much grieved, and the drum was beat to assemble the people the following day, to a general cry, in the market-place at Antàlo.

May the 8th. The news of the Ras Liban's death also reached us, at which every one expressed great joy, on account of the barbarous acts he had committed twelve days before he died; which transaction I shall lay before the reader.

The great Galla chief Gojee, of Edjow, mentioned in Mr. Salt's Travels, having circulated a report that he had turned Christian, which he had already done three times before, now changed his religion a fourth time, to deceive Sarlu



Selassé, son of Wosen Segued, king of Shoa, who had promised Gojee his daughter if he would become a Christian, which Gojee had readily sworn to do. The road to Shoa lying through the districts belonging to Ras Liban, it became difficult to find a mode of passing the king's daughter through the territories of Liban, who was an enemy to both parties, and as Liban had heard of the affair he ordered a strict look-out to be kept. However Gojee invented a scheme for passing the princess in disguise; the king accordingly sent her under the care of her guardian, and dressed like the poor pilgrims who go from different parts of Amhara on a pilgrimage to Deverer Libanus, in Shoa. In this manner the monks and poor people passed her through the country in their caravans, and Gojee got her safe in his possession.

Liban soon heard of the event, and appeared as if he had passed it over without any particular notice; however, he only took time to consider in what manner he should revenge himself upon the monks and poor people. After his mind was satisfied that he could with little trouble complete his wicked designs, he issued a proclamation by the beat of the drum that he was preparing a *toscar* [festival] as an offering to the priests and poor of the neighbouring districts. One thou-



sand bullocks and ten thousand pieces of cloth were to be distributed, on account of his late father, Colassé, who had desired him to do so on his death-bed. A large *dass* was made on a plain at the back of which was a great wood, which Liban had fixed upon to hide his Galla horsemen. On the day appointed the plain was filled with old monks and poor of all sorts, lame and blind; but, before he carried his bloody deed into effect, he chose twelve of the superior monks whom he had sent for, who readily came before him, expecting that he was going to appoint them distributors of the offerings; instead of which they were immediately seized and chained. He then ordered his horse, about eight thousand in number, to clear the plain. They instantly poured from the wood, and scarcely one of the poor wretches assembled was left alive in an hour's time. The twelve he had picked out, as a reserve to satisfy his bloody revenge, he rolled up in waxed cloths, and then set fire to them at both ends. I was told by one of his soldiers, who was present at the horrid deed, that he was of opinion that more than ten thousand persons were massacred on this occasion. A great many of the poor Galla, who were intermixed with them, also suffered; the great proportion of the people had assembled from Damot, Maitsha, Daunt, Wadler, and



Begemder, having many families related to the family of the Colassé in those districts. Liban died twelve days after this bloody deed, and the government was given to his son Homoda, though very young; but it was the particular wish of the Ras Welled Selassé, Guxo, and the other formidable chiefs of the country, that he should succeed, as he was the son of a Christian woman.

The Abyssinians amused themselves much with the idea of Christian priests going to a *Galla toscar*, or festival, and thought they merited their fate. Young Homoda soon became a brave chief, and appeared to be a better warrior than his father, and had gained some battles over the Pagan Galla to the southward of his districts. Indeed Guxo, to keep on good terms with him, offered him his daughter, to dry up the blood shed in the time of his father, which he accepted; and Guxo also gave a great portion of cattle and other valuables brought from Arabia, such as carpets, silks, &c., as her dowry. Homoda, though young, often sent to the Ras, and begged that the memory of his father's barbarity might be blotted out from their history. Indeed Homoda bore the character of a brave and compassionate youth; and would, I have been told, when the thought of the bloody deed came into his head,



## 50 HOSTILITIES BETWEEN GOJEE AND GUXO.

order the house to be cleared, that he might indulge his sorrow by himself.

Though Gojee had been cruel beyond expression from his infancy, his name became less odious since the bloody deed of Liban. After Gojee had received the daughter of the king of Shea, he again became a Mahomedan, this being the second Christian wife; his first is the daughter of Ras Ilo of Lasta\*.

Guxo, with the consent of Ras Welled Selassé, marched into Edjow, driving Gojee before him. He took the strong mountain Emanuel, which derives its name from the church of that name, built on the mountain, and said to be the most ancient monastery in Abyssinia. Gojee some time afterwards formed a friendship with Homoda, and became one of his generals; but Guxo held in possession that part of Edjow which he had conquered; the remainder becoming subject to Homoda. Gojee could not remain quiet, but soon turned out to be a *shifter*, such being the name of a prince or powerful man, who maintains himself by plundering from place to place. It is very singular that the word *shifter* is pro-

\* The reader may perceive what a low ebb Christianity must be at in that part of the country, when a powerful Christian chief thus gave his daughter in marriage to a professed Mahomedan.



nounced exactly like the English word, and bears the same meaning. *Mystery* is another Abyssinian word that has the same meaning as it has in English; and *dandee* is also a word very common to express foppishness, haughtiness, or the ridiculous. The country in all parts remained for some time in a state of tranquillity.

The Ras proclaimed by the beat of the drum that every Allicar, governor of a village, throughout his dominions, should collect from his tenants two dollars each in hard money, cloth, or salt, and the larger towns from ten to twenty each, as a subscription to pay the expences of bringing a patriarch from Egypt. In this manner ten thousand dollars were soon collected, and a party of priests dispatched, with some Mahomedans, to Egypt, bearing presents of fourteen slaves and several pieces of the finest Abyssinian cloth to Mahomed Ali Pacha. The whole country still remained in a peaceable state. The old Ras passed his time in visiting his different residences, in attending to the administration of justice and to the comfort of his subjects; he was never tired of his old favourite game *senteroge*, which he played at from morning till night, except at his meals and during his nap after dinner. On his march, as he shifted from his residences, he frequently spent a day in hunting, and, at times,



played at *gux* [sham fight] on horseback, with his soldiers.

August 5th. While he was keeping his fast for the Blessed Virgin, a servant of the Nayib Eddris of Massowa arrived with the *morder* [written intelligence], of the death of his master, and a written *messerach* [tidings] of Hair, his nephew, being made Nayib in his stead; for this the servant received a present on both accounts, as is customary. The Nayib of Massowa is chosen from the descendants of an ancient family. Nayib Eddris left sons, but none were approved of by the majority of the inhabitants, though it was agreed that Etterman should receive one third of the income from his cousin Hair; Hair is the son of the former Nayib Mahomed. Shortly after the death of Eddris, some districts in Hamazen had frequently lost their children, when attending to their flocks, cattle, &c., which in general feed on the frontier of the Hazorta. During the dry seasons it is a common practice for the Hazorta to steal the Christian children and sell them at Massowa. For this reason the above districts assembled in a formidable body, and invaded the districts of the Hazorta, which belonged to the Nayib of Massowa, carried off five thousand head of cattle, and killed several of the Hazorta shepherds. The Nayib applied to



the Ras for redress, but the answer he received was, that the people of Hamazen had also sought redress for the number of their children that had been missing, stolen, and taken to Massowa and sold; and he requested that the children missing for the last year should be returned, and he would be answerable for the cattle being restored to him. The Nayib again sent word to the Ras, that it was a thing impossible for him to know stolen children among the numerous slaves who arrived yearly from all parts of Abyssinia, and that it was not only an impossibility to recover slaves who had been sold a year before, but that even those who had left the country only a week had gone to parts of the world of which he knew nothing. Several messengers were sent backward and forward, but no settlement could be agreed upon between them.

The Mascal was celebrated this year in great pomp and splendour, and nothing particular occurred, except that the districts in Hamazen belonging to the Nayib were given to Kantiva Azeris, who took the *gama* from the Ras at Chelicut. This contributed to increase the Nayib's discontent, but he soon relieved himself in spite of the Abyssinian power.

November 10th. The Nayib's servant arrived at Chelicut, the Ras being at Antàlo, and it



being late when he arrived, I gave him lodgings in my house, and lent him a mule to go to Antàlo at daylight. This messenger had arrived with the *messerach*, or tidings, of the safe arrival of the Abuna at Massowa, and that the Nayib declared, that he should not be allowed to depart from the island of Massowa, till the whole of the cattle, taken from his territories by the people of Hamazen, and his districts in that province, should be restored to him again.

This immediately made the Ras send to the different chiefs of Hamazen, who had been concerned in plundering the Nayib's districts, to desire them to return the cattle; and they agreed, for the sake of the Abuna, to restore two thousand five hundred, but no more. This did not satisfy the Nayib, who immediately put the Abuna into close confinement, which treatment so much hurt the patriarch, who had been informed that the cause of it was occasioned by his children the Abyssinians, that he sent a priest, who bore the cross which he commonly held, and his silver staff, to declare to the Ras and the whole of his subjects, that he had taken their Christianity from them; that they were to consider themselves as Mahomedans; and that they were not to administer the holy sacrament, or even open a church, till they had returned every thing which



the Nayib declared to be his right. This so much alarmed the Abyssinians that an army was immediately sent under the command of Blitigatore Woldi Gorgis, to compel the people of Hamazen to return every head of cattle they had taken; and, by the obstinacy of the Nayib, they were compelled to replace what cattle had died since their capture, by accident, and to return his districts to him, on oath not to take them from him again when he had once permitted the patriarch to pass. When this business was settled, he also demanded five hundred dollars, as a standing or original custom on the passage of the patriarch through his dominions; which was soon paid, and mules and attendants were sent to conduct the patriarch from Massowa to Chelicut.

The patriarch, having soon learned that I had a good house and a garden at Chelicut, sent a priest to the Ras, desiring him to have me turned out, and to let the house be consecrated by a number of priests, and every thing to be made ready for his reception. The old Ras was disconcerted at this demand, and told the messenger to return with all speed, to acquaint the Abuna that he could not attempt to turn a Christian out of his own premises, which had been completed at his own expence and labour, and who was at



that time lying on his bed under the affliction of a painful disease; but that he should have in readiness the best house in Chelicut, which formerly belonged to his brother Manassey. The messenger found the Abuna at Taranta, on his way to Arli, and on telling him the Ras's reply to his message, he flew into a rage, and ordered Abba Guebra Mariam, the head priest, who had been sent to conduct him from Massowa, to go immediately to the Ras and inform him, that if I was not immediately turned out of my house he was no longer a Christian, and that he would not come to Chelicut unless his order was obeyed; at the same time telling the Ras that I was no Christian, but a Feringee, an enemy to the Blessed Virgin, and thought no more of the mother of God than any other female; and that I was a spy sent to find out a road to conduct an army into the country of his children and overthrow them. He said several other things of this nature to set the people against me, but still it had no effect on the old Ras, who sent word back that he expected a patriarch to be more merciful, and even to forgive those who had striven to hurt him, instead of behaving cruelly to an individual whom he had never seen, and who was at the same time a stranger in the land, like himself. This enraged the patriarch to such a degree, that he beat



the messenger with the cross so desperately that he broke it, and immediately issued an order, that throughout the whole territories of Ras Welled Selassé no church should be opened and no sacrament should be administered, even to those in their last hours, and that no priest should attend the burying of the dead till I was turned out of my premises. Many thousands, who had assembled to receive his blessing on his road, were obliged to remain at Arli, where he had been waiting since the first message, till numbers were almost starved for want of food, having taken but little provision with them, as they expected to return to their homes immediately.

The hard-hearted patriarch had no mercy on those poor creatures, who were obliged to sell their shields, knives, sheepskin dress, and their rags, for support.

The Ras heard the whole, but was unwilling to give way till he was even threatened by the priests from all parts of the country. Several of them, of superior rank, waited on him and warned him of the curse of the Abuna, from which there was no redemption. At last the good old man sent his favourite eunuch, Azgas Gabri Yasous, to tell me the whole of the matter, and that it would be better for me to be carried from my own house to



another good one, or even to his own. I replied that I thanked him kindly, but, as I had built my own house, and fully deserved it by my own merit since I had been in his service, I was determined to die where I then lay. The messenger soon returned, telling me that my father, the Ras, cried, and with tears running from his eyes said, "Tell him he must comply." I immediately ordered my servants to dig my grave on the floor, close to the couch I then lay on, and place a piece of new white cloth for my *mugganaz*, the only coffin of an Abyssinian. While this was doing I well loaded every gun and pistol I had in the house, and laid them on each side of me. Next day the Ras sent Shum Temben Aversaw and Ito Russo, two great chiefs, the former his own nephew, to endeavour to get me out of the house without using violence. Mr. Coffin was also ordered to attend them, and to intreat me to comply. On their approach to the house, my servants told me, and I ordered that no one should be let in but Mr. Coffin; who, knowing my grief perfectly well, said nothing on the subject farther than telling me that the two chiefs were at the gateway. I told my servant to let those chiefs only come to the door, to speak to me if they wished it, but to let no soldier into the yard with them. On their coming to the door, which I sat opposite to, they



began to speak to me in a friendly manner, and attempted to come within the door, till I called out "No nearer!" Ito Russo then stepped slowly a little nearer, upon which I pointed a pistol at him, saying "My friend Russo, if you were my own father I would shoot you, if you come a span farther." On this he said, "If I had ever been any other but a friend to you, you might have shot me," and he returned with Aversaw to the Ras.

Next day the high-priest, Allicar Barhe, with his whole train of monks, came, and after many civil words had passed from them all, expressing their sorrow for my malady, they began to intreat me to submit, and let myself be carried to the house the Ras had given me in Chelicut. I always had had great respect for Allicar Barhe, for which reason I explained my grievances to him in a cool manner, observing that I thought it an act against all the feelings of Christianity, for a Christian to be robbed by those under whose protection he had placed himself; and that I thought it better to die in my own house, than be the occasion of some poor fellow-creature being turned out of his, as they said I might have any house in Chelicut, for I knew the Ras would not pay for it, but take it by force. At last they took my wife into the garden, and told her what a curse she,



as well as myself, lay under, by not obeying the commands of the Abuna, who had the same right to reverence as Christ, whose representative he was. This struck my poor silly wife with such terror that she came to me in a flood of tears, begging me to comply immediately, and, finding it impossible to disoblige her, I consented to be moved as soon as I could procure another habitation. She accordingly went in search of one, and found respectable premises very near to our own, at fifty pieces of salt yearly, to which I agreed, and began immediately to get my cattle and household furniture removed.

The Abuna had encamped at Givra Mascal, in the country of Tigré, till he was informed of my having quitted my house. I entered my new premises on the 20th January, 1816. This was the coldest winter I experienced in Abyssinia; all the corn sowed in the last rains was nearly destroyed by the frost, and in some of the standing waters the ice was almost an inch thick.

January 23rd, the Ras, with his army, and all the priests of the country, went to meet the Abuna at Dola; in the afternoon, as they again entered Chelicut, every thing appeared in an uproar. I never before beheld such a multitude of people assembled. The mountains around Chelicut were covered with them. Gangs of priests



and monks, some in white and some in yellow dresses, were seen in the different quarters, while thousands of other orders, dressed in their sheepskins, kept moving along the sides of the mountains, apparently like large flocks of sheep. Numerous chiefs, with their armies, held different situations on the heights, all moving in confusion, their lances glittering in the air; and the manner in which they strove, by shoving against each other, to advance as near as they could to the patriarch, appeared like a close battle: numbers were trodden to death. The Ras rode on a mule, with his horsemen in the rear of the Abuna. The multitude of priests, with all the ornaments of their respective churches, were at some distance in front, and in their rear, before the Abuna, a number of people with large ploughmen's whips were continually whipping to keep the road clear. About five o'clock he entered my old premises, and expressed great satisfaction at having found such a comfortable dwelling in Abyssinia. The multitude encamped for the night, in confusion as they were, the Abuna being too comfortable in his unjustly gotten lodgings to come out to disperse them with his blessing. Before daylight the walls and every height were crowded with multitudes, calling out to him for his blessing, but he did not shew his face till nearly ten o'clock



during which time he had been feasting and laughing at the shouts of the people imploring his presence. On his mounting a small height, which had been erected for that purpose at the door of the house, he appeared quite intoxicated, and made a most tremendous noise. He struck with fury at several of his attendants, in doing which he broke his cross, and indeed his madness quite frightened the people. After a long deliberation, he held up another cross, which had been brought him, and told the multitude to disperse, saying he had given them his blessing, but could confirm no new altars, priests, or deacons, or give Christian consolation to any who had not as yet received it from former Abunas, till he had rested himself a week. This very much hurt numbers who had come from afar, and their provisions being quite exhausted they were unwilling to part with their sheep, leopard and other skins, such as they in general dress in, as well as knives, spears, and shields, at one quarter of their value, to maintain themselves, while the Abuna was feasting with the attendants who had come with him from Egypt.

On my quitting my premises, the Ras sent me word that I should leave people to take care of my garden, as the Abuna had not demanded that; and that he would have a partition built up to



divide it from the house, before the Abuna arrived, which he did. I ordered two lame men, whom I had kept to look after my garden some years before, to build a hut with some of my own wood, and look after what few grapes the frost had spared, as well as the vegetables, &c.

The Abuna had seen from his room into the garden, and, spying the almost ripe grapes, English cabbages, &c., the only ones in that part of the world, he enquired whose they were, and being told they were mine, he immediately ordered his attendants to break down part of the wall, and, as soon as he had cleared a passage, he flew into the garden. My poor lame men came to throw themselves at his feet, but he, with his wand, began to beat them without mercy, calling them "devils of Feringees," and he ordered the hut to be thrown down and taken to his kitchen for fire-wood. He took several turns at beating my poor lame men, till they cried out for mercy, not being able to run away from him; when, satisfied or rather tired of thrashing them, he ordered his servants to push them out.

I was very much provoked at all this, though more at the poor fellows being beaten so barbarously than at the loss of my garden; however, I knew it was only a folly to complain: but the old Ras, who had heard of the act, went immediately to



the Abuna, who for some time denied him admittance : however, after keeping him seated, in the midst of his household, at the door, for a quarter of an hour, he was suffered to have an audience of the holy Abuna, who first spoke to him in a very civil manner, telling him he was extremely sorry he had been kept at the door so long, but it being his hour of prayers, he hoped he would think nothing of it. The old Ras also paid him the best compliments he could, hoping to keep him in good humour, but all to no purpose ; for, after the Ras had desired the interpreter to inform him that the garden he had taken was mine and entirely made at my own expence and labour, and sown even with the seeds from my native country, which I had brought with me, and that I had given up my house, which was also my own, though afflicted with disease, he begged of his holiness to let the garden remain for my comfort. The interpreter had scarcely got through half of what he was desired to say, when the Abuna flew into the greatest rage, struck him on the mouth, ordered him never to exercise the office of interpreter again, but to quit his premises immediately. The old Ras came away much dissatisfied ; the anger he felt and his fear of showing it quite overcame him. He said, "The tongue of that Abuna has speared me to the heart ; I cannot resent, I am



bound by my religion to bear it ; still I think we are rather a weak-minded people." Several priests and people of rank came to advise him not to take such a thing to heart, but to consider that whatever the Abuna said, if in his rage or not, was as a father to his son. The old man did not recover himself of the affront, till some hours afterwards ; however, he at last sent me word to direct people to look after the vines in his garden, which he had given me in return for my own. I thanked him, and told him I would be contented with his kind offer only, but would not accept it.

The Abuna, hearing that it was, and had been for many years, my privilege to receive all the brandy made in the Ras's premises, as well as all that was sent as presents from his neighbouring chiefs, sent word to the Ras to supply him and his attendants with brandy ; so that commission was taken from me, and a few days afterwards my commission for receiving the goats was also taken away to furnish the Abuna.

At the end of a week multitudes of priests and people of all classes began to assemble ; but, before the Abuna would consecrate new altars, confirm new priests or deacons, or pronounce any of the congregation Christians, he ordered a proclamation to be issued, declaring that, according to



the old customs established by former Abunas, every man wishing to be confirmed a priest must first bring him four *amolas*, or pieces of salt. All new altars, that had been dedicated to new churches since the death of the last Abuna, as well as those that had never been consecrated by the Abuna, were to pay also four pieces of salt each; those who wished to become deacons two pieces of salt each; and all the population, with their young children, that had not been confirmed by former Abunas, were to pay one piece of salt each. Persons were stationed at the gateway to receive this salt as the people entered, one at a time. More than a thousand priests and as many deacons were ordained the first day, and, as those who had brought their children to be confirmed were departing, numbers were still arriving.

In the course of a few days, the Abuna ordered another proclamation to be issued, that no man in Abyssinia be considered a priest, not even those he had himself confirmed, who did not take an oath to the Copti religion; and that no sacrament was to be administered in any of their churches, till they had solemnly sworn to renounce all their belief in the Greek or Catholic faith. This instantly put the whole multitude in disorder. The priests of the Copti religion had formed themselves into one great body, and assembled



to back the Abuna in his commands ; others who were of the Greek church, which was the most numerous in Abyssinia, made a formidable body ; while some, but very few, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, formed themselves into a party. Several applications were sent backward and forward to allow them to live under the same rule as the preceding Abuna had done\*, but to no purpose, till at length rage burst out on all sides ; every priest held up his cross, and with his people flew to revenge. Ill as I was, I cannot but confess that I was pleased to see the misguided populace in this uproar ; it was, however, agreed at last, that those who did not choose to follow the Abuna's religion were not entitled to his blessing and protection, but should be allowed to live among them as an outcast people. This did not answer, and the people became the more enraged, so the Abuna was obliged to give up the idea of converting, and confine himself to the care of his own followers.

About this time, Bashaw Wolokedan and Ito Guebra Sardou, the sons of Shum Sellore, and several other chiefs in the southern districts, as

\* Abuna Yuseph, the late patriarch, allowed the Abyssinians to follow what religion they chose. Numbers were followers of Sidi Paulus, a Greek priest, and others of Abba Tobias, who had been to Rome.



well as the Gas Ischias and the sons of Nebrid Aram of Tigré, began to rebel and plunder the friendly districts of the Ras, who had become too ill, old, and feeble, to march against them ; however, he sent sufficient armies to drive them from his dominions. Waxum Comfu, one of his trusty chiefs, defeated the sons of Shum Sellore in a well contested battle, took Ito Guebra Sardou, Ito Woldi Samuel, and three other chiefs, prisoners, all of whom he presented in chains to the Ras, who ordered them to the mountains Arrara and Alajje ; Guebra Sardou and Woldi Samuel to the latter, the other three to the former. The old Ras was so delighted with Waxum Comfu's conduct that he gave him not only several ornaments, as marks of honour, but also the knife, set with jewelry, which was presented to him by Mr. Salt from his Britannic Majesty, and which he had kept as the most sacred of all his treasures.

The Abuna had not yet given me up, if he had the priests, and while Waxum Comfu remained at Chelicut he began afresh to annoy me. I had nothing now left but a piece of cultivated ground, well known in that part of the country, by the name of Wogarte, famous for two crops of any kind of grain a year, besides a meadow, very near to my former house, which produced fine grass



the whole of the year. I had allowed a load to be cut for the Abuna's own mule, from the day he arrived ; however, he was ashamed to demand the meadow from me without a quarrel, and, hearing that it had been given me by the Ras, about nine years before, for some particular act during my servitude, he went cautiously to work. He ordered the whole of the cattle he had, which had become pretty numerous, besides the mules and asses of his attendants, to be turned into the meadow to graze ; after this was done, the keeper of the grass came to inform me, and I sent him to Mr. Coffin, with whom I had shared its produce from the time he stopped with me in the country. Mr Coffin first came to me, to consult what was best to be done ; I being too ill to quit my bed, it was agreed that he should take our people, and go and turn all the animals, except the Abuna's own mule, out of the premises, and pound them, as we had often done to others, and as others had done to our cattle when found on their land ; which is a common practice in Abyssinia as well as in other countries. In a short time Mr. Coffin sent our people, with ten or twelve mules and asses belonging to the Abuna's attendants, while he himself staid, to drive the Abuna's own mule from grazing. The Abuna could see the whole from the canes round the upper floor of my



old house, and sent people to bring back the cattle in pound ; but I told them they should not be let out till two pieces of salt were paid for every mule and one piece for each ass, according to the rules of the district. On this they wanted to take them by force, but some of my old faithful servants remained to beat them out of the yard.

Mr. Coffin happened to have his gun in the meadow, purposely to shoot snipes, when the Abuna, seeing him with it, sent his priests immediately in all directions, to stop the service of the churches, which was then just beginning, it being the Saturday before the great Lent, and that and the following day being two great days of festival. He also gave orders that no Christians should eat, drink, break wood, or draw water, or even converse with each other, neither should any of the churches be opened, until his orders were executed, which were that Pearce and Coffin, Feringees, Caffres, &c. &c., should be stripped naked and flogged three times round the market-place of Antàlo, after which, if they survived, they were to be sent into the territories of the Galla and to be left to their mercy ; in the first place, because Pearce had pounded his mules and beat his servants, who, though they are great blackguards, are esteemed sacred people ; and



secondly, because Coffin had come with a gun, with intent to shoot him.

The moment the poor old Ras heard of the order, he was much alarmed, and, ill as he was, he rose immediately, buckled on his knife, and instantly dispatched some soldiers to Mr. Coffin, to get him into the same house with me, and to protect us from any of the superstitious people who might do us harm, under the idea that they were executing the orders of their Abuna; while he himself mounted his mule and rode to the Abuna's premises, Waxum Comfu, Chellica Comfu, and every chief then at court, following him. The Abuna ordered his gates to be shut, and refused to give ear to any thing they said, or had to say, till his orders should be executed. A multitude of people sat round his house for several hours, entreating an audience, but to no purpose; at length Waxum Comfu stood up, and made a speech in a loud voice, on our behalf. He said: "All who consider themselves Christians may be assured that it is better to fast a few days or even to die with hunger, than barbarously to abandon their companions. Though not of the same nation as ourselves, they have partaken of our calamities and of our pleasures; they have fought our enemies boldly with us; they have run the same risk of destruction as ourselves,



and for our country. The conduct of Pearce when in Edjow cannot escape the memory of any of us who were there, though many years ago; those that cannot go two days without sustenance, for the sake of such comrades, are no soldiers, and those who seek to do them harm in compliance with the orders of the Abuna are cowards."

This speech broke up the assembly, while hundreds of the soldiers cried out, "We don't know what the Abuna means by forbidding us to eat: does he wish no one to live but himself?" This he might have comprehended had he understood the language. Those of a superstitious disposition tasted no food for two whole days, though the *wotadas* or soldiers rarely fast, and were the less disposed to do so now, when they understood that the Abuna had killed two cows, and was feasting with his followers. The poor old Ras took nothing whatever; the cows that had been killed were totally devoured by the soldiers.

Some of the priests and peasants wished the Abuna's orders to be put into execution. There having been, in the afternoon of Saturday, a tremendous storm of hail, the stones of which, as large as nutmegs, had cut down the young corn, pepper, and other crops, by the river-side, and



killed some cattle, the ignorant said that it was a visitation of God for not obeying the Abuna's commands, while others declared it was a sign of God's wrath at their folly for starving themselves on account of the anger of a man who could not live without victuals himself. Many opinions were passed, but none dared attack us, as we had not only a good guard to watch over our safety, but were well prepared to defend ourselves.

In this suspense the whole population waited till Monday, the first day of the fast Abba Som, [great Lent] when very early the Ras, attended by all his chiefs, marched up to the Abuna's premises. At first the gates were shut against them, but the soldiers of the Ras beginning to climb over the walls, making a noise, and disregarding the Abuna, he began to be fearful, and gave audience to the Ras. The whole of the great men insisted upon admittance, and burst into the gateway; the Abuna appeared quite sullen, and had not a word to say through fear. At length Waxum Comfu, in the name of the Ras, and by means of an interpreter, asked him if he had consented to forgive Pearce and Coffin, saying, "We have fasted for them, when we ought to have been feasting, and we would willingly do more for their good, such is the respect we have for



these two men ; and cannot you," said he, as he stooped to kiss his feet, "forgive them for your children's sake?" It was some time before the Abuna broke silence ; at length he said, "How can I forgive the wretches, who used to flog and salt the backs of my countrymen when they had power in Egypt?" A very old priest, then with the Ras, interrupted the assembly by saying, "Abuna, let me speak one word in your presence; I am an old man and as well learned as any of my countrymen. Our religion teaches us to be merciful and to forgive our enemies, to seek no revenge, but, on the contrary, when any one smites one cheek, to turn the other that he may smite that also." The Abuna ordered the old man to be turned out, and the scull-cap torn from his head, and declared him displaced from the priesthood for presuming to teach the Abuna.

The whole assembly remained silent, expecting the Abuna's answer to the first petition of Waxum Comfu, but no answer was given more than to ask, by means of the interpreter, why the people did not disperse. This made the whole of the chiefs begin to get warm, and a murmuring and confusion arose. Chellica Comfu behaved very insolently, as they termed it, to the Abuna, by telling him to recollect that he, as



well as themselves, had some of Ham's blood in them, while Pearce and Coffin were the pure offspring of Shem or Japhet\*. Several others spoke very roughly on the subject, till at last the poor old Ras broke silence, and, with tears in his eyes, said, "Listen to me for the last time, Abuna; I am well acquainted with several white people, whom I have seen in this country. Though I know the temper of my own countrymen best, I compare the white people to a copper or metal pot, and the Abyssinians I compare to a thick earthen pot. A metal pot will boil with very little fire, and is cool instantly when taken from the fire; white people are soon enraged, but are soon brought to good-humour again. An earthen pot takes a deal of wood and fire to make it boil, and when it once does boil there is great difficulty in keeping it from boiling over, and even when off the fire it boils a considerable time. We Abyssinians are like unto this earthen pot; we do not soon collect anger, nor does it soon depart from us when collected." With that the old man rose and the whole assembly dispersed; but they had not got far, when a procla-

\* The Abyssinians affirm all black people to be the offspring of Ham, who was turned black for laughing at his father Noah. The Abuna being a dark Egyptian, Comfu supposed him to have sprung from black parents.



mation was issued that the Abuna had forgiven Pearce and Coffin, and that the people might attend to their regular occupations.

As soon as I and Mr. Coffin were informed of it we went to the Ras, and begged to be sent to Fellegdarro, a former residence of his, that we might be out of the way and prevent more mischief. Although the Abuna had got my meadow altogether, he still wished to make enmity between me and the Ras. I had formerly many fire-works, left me by Mr. Salt, which at times used to delight the Ras. The Abuna happened to pick up the remnants of an old fire-wheel, which had been taken into some of the closets by rats, or some other accident, and, on putting it to the fire, he observed sparks fly from it; frightened at this, he threw it down, but some one of more courage caught it up and broke the fiery part off. The wretched patriarch, in the morning, sent it privately to the Ras, saying, "See what these Feringees have invented to burn me in my house." Lucky it was that the old Ras had about two hundred different kinds of fire-works, which I had given him, in a box in his wife's apartments. He ordered it to be brought, and sent some of them for the Abuna to look at, telling him he was not afraid of his house being burnt by them. "Oh! but," says



the messenger, one of the Abuna's confederates, "they threw his, when lighted, on the house." The Ras, smiling, replied, "That is not made for throwing, but for turning;" and he showed him a squib. This messenger was Gorgis, an old Copt, whom I had saved from being executed by order of the Ras, and maintained several years in my own house. I have made mention of his treachery, in the former part of this book, towards me and Mr. Coffin.

In a few days the Abuna began to enquire after my health, sent me a letter, and begged I would come and see him, which I declined till the Ras should express his wish on the occasion. He sent to the Ras for his permission; the latter told me it would be better to go, and if there was no friendship, pretended regard might at least prevent malice. I accordingly went; he received me very kindly, as well as Mr. Coffin, and, after sitting some time, he said he wished to speak to me in private; Mr. Coffin withdrew, and went walking about our lost meadow, while the Abuna had a small table put before him with plenty of good victuals, and dragged me by the hand to partake of his meal. He ate like a glutton, afterwards smoked his pipe, and drank a great quantity of maize, and a glass or two of brandy; at length he became quarrelsome with Gorgis and



some other Copts, who were with him. I thought it best to withdraw, but he insisted on my not doing so till I had drank a little more maize ; he began to talk about religion, but I found he knew no more of the Scriptures than myself. He said he would make the Abyssinians good Christians, and he would teach them that there was no sin in smoking tobacco, or he would break every pipe he had brought from Egypt over the heads of the priests. He talked a great deal more nonsense, and promised to be my friend. On my taking leave he gave me two pieces of soap and a loaf of sugar.

Finding myself on the decline every way, both in my health and property, I sold my favourite horse, which was given to me by the Ras, out of respect for Mr. Salt, when I had a good meadow to maintain my cattle ; the Gas Guebra Michael, of Temben, had frequently begged me to let him have it ; and now, seeing that my meadow had been taken away by the Abuna, and very little likelihood of my recovering from my disease, he came and offered me a fair price of one hundred dollars, two *gibbertas*, or bushels, of honey, twenty-four bushels of white *taff*, and a cow. Thinking the price very liberal, I, with the Ras's consent, let him have it, and shortly afterwards he also bought my best mule, Angus, for seven



*wakeahs* of gold, two bushels of honey, and twenty-four bushels of white *taff*. He also wanted another fine mule, given to me by the Ras, called Shibshabit, but, as Mr. Coffin was desirous of it, I gave him the preference and let him have it, in exchange for an old mule I had made him a present of when he first came into the country. I kept nothing but my wife's mule and one mule for myself, two milch cows and a few sheep, selling every thing that would procure salt or corn, knowing that, for the future, I had to provide for myself, though I sometimes found friends. The Ras became old and feeble, and I, not being able to attend him, received but little from him for my support.





## CHAPTER XIII.

Disturbances excited by the Abuna—Illness of the Ras—His Death—Consternation of the People—Funeral Ceremonies—Early History and Character of the Ras—Power of Superstition over the Abyssinians—Division of the Ras's Property.

THE Abuna was still causing disturbances among all classes of people, and every part of the Ras's dominions began to give signs of rebellion. The Ras's son by a slave, whom he had for many years refused to see, assembled an army of soldiers, whom he had enticed to desert from his father, and plundered several friendly districts, so that the Ras was again obliged to dispatch Waxum Comfu against him : being driven out of the Ras's territories, he went to Guxo, who received him and his followers.

The Ras still found himself too weak to quit Chelicut ; still his heart was too proud to confess his approaching end, and he always admitted those to audience who waited upon him. One evening he sent for me ; he even sent his slaves to attend upon me and support me on my mule. I went, and called Mr. Coffin to go with me. When we arrived, he ordered every soul to with-



draw but Mr. Coffin and myself, and then began telling us about the pains he felt in the kidneys, the stiffness in his knees, the difficulty he had in breathing, and the cough he had lately caught. "If you have," said he, "any medicine, such as Saul gave me, I think it will cure me," meaning lavender-water, given to him by Mr. Salt, with which I used to rub his body before a fire at night, when he found himself unwell. This he always conceived cured him of every complaint, and for the many years I had been with him he made use of no other kind of medicine whatever, except drinking his *cusho*, and liquor made from the pomegranate-wood to kill the tape-worm. He never wore charms about his body or limbs, like the Abyssinians in general. We told him we had no kind of medicine whatever; all that had been left by Mr. Salt was exhausted. I had some lavender-water by me, but I found him so far gone, that I thought it prudent to deny having it, for fear the superstitious people might, after his death, say I had given something that had killed him; for I have remarked in Abyssinia, when any great man or woman dies, they attribute it to poison, witchcraft, or something bad. This evening he would not let me return till I had had my supper. He appeared to be quite well, though he could scarcely eat any thing, and drank very



little. He once drank out half of his *bruly*, or bottle, and gave me the other half, though I had my own in my hand ; I attempted to stand up and call for another *bruly* to pour it into before I drank it, as it is unlawful to drink out of his *bruly* : he caught hold of me by the wrist and grasped it hard, looking at me stedfastly, saying, " Drink with me and out of my *bruly*," and gave a very heavy sigh. After I had drunk, he still kept hold of my arm, and would frequently look at me ; I observed that his eyes were dim, and he appeared very sorrowful. The hall was full of people, who were silently observing him look at me for a good ten minutes, and strongly grasp my arm. I was much affected ; I had some notion of his meaning, I knew it was affection. My heart was too full to drink any more, though he frequently took my *bruly*, and put it to my mouth.

Next morning Mr. Coffin went to see him. On his return, he said, " I am afraid the poor old Ras is nearly gone ; his eyes change their colour, every now and then, but he will make himself lively, in spite of old age." Shortly after he sent his tailors to my house, with a large cotton turban, telling them to sew him a pair of stockings, such as my countrymen wore, to have them three times double, and I could shew them



how to cut them out. I had formerly given him some new stockings, but he said they had no warmth in them. When these stockings were ready they were taken to him. I went again, though very ill, in the evening: he told me he was better; he gave orders to the *aszasey* [steward] to have plenty of every thing ready for the next day, and that the chiefs, who were then at Chelicut, were to be warned to be at his table on the following morning.

After every body had retired from the *adderrash* [hall] but his household servants, he ordered some whey to be brought him, but, being informed by the *abbuzer*, [cook] that there were some good curds, he preferred them; Abbuzer Welleta Tisral brought them in an earthen dish. After washing his hands, he took a little of the curds between his thumb and fingers, and putting it to his lips, he called out of a sudden to the boy before him, "Take hold! take hold!" giving him the curds. Those were the last words he ever uttered. Buggerunde Tusfu, Asgas Gabri Yasous, and Woldi Michael Teltal, caught hold of him, to support him, and he expired in their arms, on the 28th of May, 1816. His death was kept secret from the people, every one being sensible of the calamities that would follow. Abbuzer Welleta Tisral began to scream and lament, which would



have given the alarm, had not one of the slaves knocked her down senseless, and threatened her life, if she even sobbed. Buggerunde Tusfu wisely sent to the chiefs who had been invited, to inform them that the Ras had passed an uneasy night, and had taken some medicine and could not be seen that day. Every thing was carried away by stealth to the *giddam* of Temben; and on the second night after his death his body was wrapped up in a clean cloth, and, as if stolen, was taken by the slaves, Mr. Coffin, and Buggerunde Tusfu, over the wall of his garden, to the church, where they had already opened the grave of his brother Manassey. Allicar Barhe and the Abuna were informed of the event; before they arrived they had taken up the bones of Manassey, which were in a great coffin, made out of the door of his house, at the time that he died in December, 1809. The Ras's body was put beneath, and Manassey's bones then laid on the top.

The whole town was instantly alarmed; the cries, the shouts of the people, the heavy rain that happened to fall at the time, and the howlings of hyænas at midnight, were dreadful. Hundreds, instead of attending the funeral, were flying in all directions to bury their private property, to save it from the plunder that was sure to ensue. The Abuna read prayers; all the



Ras's loyal subjects assembled, some from a distance, to cry for his loss, while their districts were left to the mercy of rebels, who had broken out in strong bands in all parts. Many of the populace cried out bitterly, as the Abuna was going through the ceremony, "Ah, mad and passionate Abuna, it was our own fault for bringing such a madman to be our patriarch! It is your frequent aggravations that have broken the heart of our beloved old Ras. Ah, could we but all die with him, or thou follow him, otherwise thou wilt again torment us!" They said a great deal more on the subject, and on the past conduct of the Abuna, but though he heard them he did not understand.

The day after the funeral, the relations of the late Ras assembled at Chelicut, to consider in what manner the *toscar* and *fettart* should be carried into execution. It was proposed that the Abuna should march round the environs of Chelicut, at the head of the clergy of the neighbouring districts; the drums and all the ornaments, such as crowns of gold and silver, were also to be paraded in the front of the Abuna, to consecrate the limits of the town, which was hereafter to be considered as *giddam* equal to Axum, or the former residence of the Abuna at Gondar. When this was completed, people from all parts of the



country brought their private property to Chelicut for safety ; even those who had committed murder came into the town, where they were secure. It was impossible the relations could give a regular *toscar*, or offering to the population, as they were confused among themselves, every one wanting to have things his own way, and, while they were thus quarrelling, the rebels in all quarters gained the more advantage. However, it was determined that an account of the Ras's private property should be taken down by Abba Gabriott, then the Ras's priest ; though, not only at the time of his death but during his whole illness, he had never held any consultation with priests or his father confessor, as the Abyssinians in general do on such occasions. Indeed, when they find themselves dangerously ill they give their property to the different churches, which they term giving to God, though the priests reap the benefit and divide the spoil ; while in health they have no notion of parting with their property, if ever so wealthy and able to apply it to a more charitable purpose. This was not the case with the old Ras ; he had never been extravagant, but liked to see his money laid out to good purpose, and was always ready to help those in distress : but he was very particular in investigating their case, to guard against imposition, though he was



often cheated by the artfulness of religionists of both sexes, who swarm and lurk, like hyænas, in all the secret holds of Abyssinia.

He was one of the bravest princes in the records of Abyssinia: his fame began to spread from the time he challenged and killed the two brothers, Abel and Cail, who were two of Ras Michael's choice men, and whom Michael had sent off to meet him, and to take him if possible; at which time he went by the name of Surhe Avvo. Being awakened from his sleep, by his servants telling him that Abel and Cail were sent by Ras Michael to arrest him, he immediately jumped up, buckled on his knife, saddled his horse, and, seizing his spear and shield, mounted, and never thought of his drawers till he was off to meet his adversaries. He then discovered that his thighs were naked, and cried out to his servant, Surhe Avvo! [Give me my drawers!] but his adversaries having approached too near, he had no time to dismount. When those two horsemen came up in his front, he threw his first lance at Cail when at a considerable distance; it struck him in the eye, and he dropped from his horse. He then held his shield to Abel, who threw at him, and warded off the blow, and killed him with the thrust of a spear in the kidneys. He took the usual trophies from Abel, and both their horses,



with their ornaments of honour, but did not mangle the body of Cail, as he was not quite dead, leaving him to die with the agony of the wound he had given him through the eye into the skull. The spectators thought of his last words, as he rode off to meet his adversaries, Surhe Avvo, which name they bestowed upon him in memory of his feat. Ras Michael was so well pleased with his bravery, that he swore to forgive him, and make him governor of Enderta; but Surhe Avvo remembered the cruel death to which Michael had put his father, Kefla Yasous, and would not approach him, in spite of his entreaties; but he went for some time to the Hazorta Galla, and to the Taltal. Michael did all he could to get hold of him by bribing the Galla, but, on discovering these attempts, he went to the Amhara, and was some time in the service of Ras Ilo of Gojam.

After the death of Ras Michael, he came to Wojjerat, where he assembled a body of his old confederates, and stormed the mountain Amhara. The Gas Woldi Gabriel, son of the Ras Michael, was obliged to march against him, and, after more than twenty days' siege, Woldi had lost more than he had gained; he was obliged to withdraw from Wojjerat, and make terms with Surhe Avvo, by proclaiming him Balgadda, that is governor of



all the salt districts, and when Woldi Gabriel marched to Edjow, he left him to take care of Enderta. Woldi Gabriel being killed by the Ras Alligaz in battle, Surhe Avvo immediately flew to Gondar, to the king Tecla Gorgis, petitioning him for the title of Gusmati of Enderta; Gabri Mascal had also gone from Tigré for the same purpose.

Tecla Gorgis, according to his usual bad faith, ordered the drum to be beat to proclaim Surhe Avvo Welled Selassé Gusmati, but before the drum had done beating to assemble the populace he cried out, "I mean the Gusmati Gabri Mascal." He again contradicted his orders two or three times; till at last, as he was going to contradict again, the drummer had pronounced the words to Gabri Mascal Gusmati. It was then too late for Tecla Gorgis to change his mind again. Surhe Avvo had bought a fine horse for his own riding, and he made the best of his way for Enderta. The Gusmati Gabri Mascal followed, and assembled his army of more than twenty thousand men, among whom were one thousand five hundred muskets. Welled Selassé, or Surhe Avvo, had only about three thousand men, but mostly horse, and only twenty-five guns. The Gusmati Gabri Mascal marched from Tigré with intent to drive Welled Selassé out of Enderta, but how



great was his surprise when he heard that his rival had come to meet him! He fell upon the van of the Gusmati's army, in the country of Giralta, and forced him to retreat, after cutting off and taking Fit-aurari Gabri Meddin prisoner, and encamped in the plain of Mugga. Here Welled Selassé mounted his horse, which he had bought at Gondar, called Badinsah, and, at the head of his horsemen, rode into Gabri Mascal's camp, when his troops had not the least suspicion, imagining that he had been contented with the capture of Fit-aurari Gabri Meddin, and was at some distance on his return. Numbers were killed in the camp, but the sudden alarm put them into such confusion, that Welled Selassé rode with his horsemen through thick and thin, till they surprised Gabri Mascal and took him prisoner, while he and several other chiefs were sitting drinking in his tent. Every thing was then in his power; the whole camp immediately surrendered, and all muskets were delivered up to him: he then marched on to Tigré. Ozoro Alassa, daughter to Ras Michael, and Bashaw Dingerze, Ras Michael's son-in-law, had also prepared to give him battle, but he soon drove them, and the Galla they had in their service, off the field, and made a great slaughter. Even pregnant women were not spared by his Galla, which is the only bar-



barity laid to the charge of Welled Selassé, during the whole of the twenty-nine years that he was Ras. From the day he took Gabri Mascal he was called Badinsah, from the name of his horse, by which name he went till his death.

The relations of Ras Michael dreaded the thought of coming to terms with him, knowing the barbarous death which his father Kefla Yassous had suffered, and supposed he would seek revenge ; but, on the contrary, he used those who fell into his hands with the same kindness as he did his own relations : even when Nebrid Aram, who put out his father's eyes, was taken prisoner, he released him from chains, and gave him the government of Tigré, to shew the people he was not revengeful. He was in some degree proud, like all the heroes of Abyssinia ; but he was good-natured and lively, even to his last moments. At meal-times he could never take a second mouthful without cramming the mouth of some one or other of his friends, who were at table with him ; if he thought the dish he was eating from was better than what others were eating, he could not rest till he had given every one a taste till it was all gone. He drank very freely of wine and maize, but never drank brandy. He never ate goat's flesh, or guinea-fowl, or the flesh of an antelope, called *madocqua* ; most other kinds of



game he was remarkably fond of. A few days before he died, he began to dislike *brindo*, or raw meat, and used to have it broiled a little.

His favourite game was chess, which he would play at from morning till night, even with his slaves, or any of his household servants, though there were proper people appointed to play with him. He was fond of hunting till a few months before his death. It was the opinion of the people, as well as my own, that the anger excited in his heart by the Abuna, whose conduct he was too prudent to resent, knowing the weak and superstitious minds of the people, was the true cause of his death. He had before this happened given the Abuna a number of valuable articles, thinking to pacify him and keep him quiet; but the change from leading the miserable life of an Egyptian Copt, who had been obliged to dig the earth and climb the lofty date-trees for his subsistence, to being honoured by millions of people, brave though silly, completely turned his brain.

One instance will serve to point out how the hearts of the bravest Abyssinians may be terrified through superstition. A little previous to the Ras's death, Ito Amdersean of Abbatsarma, a chief of known intrepidity, whose fame had spread even from Gojam to the sea-coast, for



feats which he had performed in the wars under Ras Michael and Ras Welled Selassé, had, about the time the Abuna arrived at Massowa, been dispatched, by order of the Ras, to make the people of Hamazen give up the cattle before mentioned, belonging to the Nayib, that the Abuna might pass through the Nayib's territories. Unfortunately, his horse fell with him and broke his leg, after which he remained at Abbatsarma till he got a little better; but, before he could stand, he was desirous of going to Enderta, to obtain the Abuna's blessing. He was carefully carried thither on a couch by his servants, and, on his arrival at Chelicut, after paying his respects to the Ras, he waited an opportunity to see the Abuna. Hearing one day that he was at church, he ordered his servants to carry him to the gate where the Abuna was to pass; there he waited till the Abuna was coming out. On seeing him advance, he ordered his servants to carry him, and place him on his knees before the feet of the Abuna; and, this being done, he cried out, "My father, bless me!" and held his face to the ground. The Abuna began, with his large staff, which he had in his hand, to beat him without mercy, and the servants who carried him ran away from fear. Poor Amdersean cried out, in a most lamentable tone, "I know I deserve



punishment ; I will pay whatever you may order me to the churches, but I am too weak for bodily punishment." The Abuna, not understanding him, kept on beating him about his head, till the blood ran, and the wheals on his back rose like blisters. As he was unable to rise, the Abuna became tired, and with his foot kicked him out of his way, and passed on, scarcely able to breathe with anger. Amdersean thought the Abuna had been punishing him for his sins, and had forgiven him, though his leg was again hurt, and its cure in consequence delayed. The superstitious Amdersean thought the Abuna had done all this from regard for him, and sent him, immediately on his being carried home, two fat cows, telling his servants to tell the Abuna that he would never sin again, and thanking God and the Abuna that he was once clear. The Ras, being informed of what had happened to Amdersean, could not refrain from laughing. Amdersean is of one of the greatest families in Tigré.

Having thus given a short account of my late old master, I shall return to his surviving relatives.

Woldi Raphael and Aversaw, the two eldest relations, collected the remainder of the Ras's family of both sexes at Chelicut. The whole of the treasurers and scribes were called, and



an inventory of property was taken by Abba Gabriott, who was left to share it as he thought fit. Abba Gabri Mariam, the head treasurer, who kept the money in the *giddam* in Temben, reported that he had seventy-five thousand dollars, and fifty *wakeahs* of gold, and a number of gold and silver ornaments, such as crowns, crosses, books, with golden and silver covers, and part of the jewelry presented to the Ras by his Britannic majesty, through Mr. Salt.

Woldi Michael Teltal gave in that he had in the church of Moi Ambassor, another monastery in the wilderness of Temben, five thousand dollars, a number of glass ornaments, &c. After Abba Gabriott had divided these ornaments among different churches, he began with the dollars; one thousand five hundred of which he gave to the Abuna, one thousand to the priests of Axum, the same to Waldubba, to Sallabella, and so on, more or less to all the respective churches in Abyssinia, as *fettart*, or prayers of forgiveness, to be said every day throughout the whole year. All other household goods, such as drinking-glasses, horns, &c., were given to the poor; the rings the Ras wore on his fingers were given to an old religious woman, who sold them to Mr. Coffin for two dollars; one of these was the ring presented to the Ras by Mr. Salt,



from his majesty. A report was then taken, from the Buggerunde Tusfu, of the agricultural property and herds of cattle in the hands of the Zellans\*, which was found to amount to fifteen thousand five hundred cows, one thousand seven hundred and thirty ploughshares, four thousand one hundred and ten ploughing oxen; and about eight thousand *churns* of corn were in the hands of the arristies†, from the last year's crop, besides what was in stocks, &c. It was agreed upon that these should be divided by the *shum-mergildas*, after Ozoro Setches, the regular wife of the late Ras, should have taken her tenth.

\* Herdsmen or shepherds.    † Arristie or gavverry, farmer.



## CHAPTER XIV.

Civil War among the Chiefs for the dignity of Ras—Hostilities between Woldi Raphael and Aversaw—Defeat of Aversaw by Bashaw Wolokedan—Rout of Wolokedan's army—Movements of the Gusmati Ischias and Subegadis—The English cannon—Battle between Subegadis and Woldi Raphael—Defeat of the latter—Perilous Situation of Pearce and Coffin—Restitution of Plunder—The Gas Guebra Michael defeats Subegadis—Operations of Woldi Raphael—Pearce leaves Chelicut with many of the Inhabitants—Excavated Rocks—Crocodiles—Pearce proceeds to Tigré—Large Snake—Arrival at Adowa—Proceedings of Gas Ischias—That Chief defeated and taken by Woldi Raphael—Battles in Gojam—Agreement between Woldi Raphael, Guebra Michael, and Subegadis—Fresh Quarrels among the Chiefs.

BEFORE the arrangements for the division of the property left by the Ras could be carried into effect the whole of the country was in a state of civil war, every chief doing his best to become Ras. Woldi Raphael and Aversaw disputed who should have the Ras's *negarettes* [drums]; and the latter went to Antàlo, and took possession of the town. I, being very ill, could not go to Antàlo, and Aversaw sent for me and Mr. Coffin, but I persuaded Mr. Coffin not to comply; however Aversaw got a Mussulman, who had before seen a cannon, to load the two three-pounders, which were then at Antàlo. This Mussulman was



forced to load them by Aversaw's orders, supposing that Woldi Raphael would come to attack the town. In the night Woldi Raphael, being my friend, sent to me to know what he could do to prevent the guns being fired off, if he attempted to take Antàlo from Aversaw. I told him to send some one in whom he could trust, by night, when every one was asleep, to pour water into the touch-holes and then to drive a nail into each, which I gave him, and to prevent making any noise to cover the head of the nail with a piece of skin while he struck it with a stone, or what not. This had the desired effect, and Woldi Selassé, an old servant of mine, completed the job\*.

Woldi Raphael marched to Wojjerat, to collect an army to besiege Aversaw; by this time Arriah, the Ras's son, arrived in Antàlo from Guxo, and Aversaw ordered the drum to be beat to proclaim Arriah successor to his father's title. Bashaw Wolokedan had encamped at Saharte, on his road to Antàlo, and Aversaw and Arriah went out, with about five thousand men, to meet him. A hard battle was fought at Asta. Aversaw, while on horse-back, was shot through the knee. Wolokedan's army pursued and cut up their adversaries, till

\* I and Mr. Coffin had agreed, if possible, to disable the guns, for, if they had done execution, the superstitious relatives of those who fell by them might have sought revenge upon us.



night came on, when they encamped at the foot of the mountain Gunuffe, by the church Madenallum, close behind the town of Antalo. Aversaw arrived safe at Chelicut, in the Abuna's premises; Arriah, with what men he had brought off, joined Ito Russo of Gibbart, and, in the morning, again attacked Bashaw Wolokedan, but was obliged to retreat by degrees till they were on the skirts of Chelicut, when we had a full view of the armies from our houses. Ito Russo was wounded, and made prisoner, and a general retreat had taken place, when Woldi Raphael and Waxum Comfu arrived, through the valley, with a powerful army which they had collected purposely to attack Aversaw. Wolokedan, seeing them at a distance, ordered his chiefs to call in their soldiers from following the beaten enemy, and draw themselves back to a height ready to receive Woldi Raphael, who had approached near with his horse and made several attacks on Wolokedan's army, but was repulsed from the place where Wolokedan had posted himself. On the musketry and foot coming up, a general action took place, which lasted about an hour, with a continual fire of musketry; but at last Wolokedan's army gave way and a complete massacre took place. Ito Aram, Wolokedan's brother-in-law, was killed, and several chiefs were taken prisoners.



The same day the sons of Shum Serrer, headed by the *Guzera* Amlac, their eldest brother, fought with and beat the *Dimesa*, the late Ras's nephew, when the *Takals* in the army of Amlac acted as mercenaries as the *Galla*, on the taking of a mountain, called *Wagara Womba*, where they did not spare even pregnant women, in order that they might destroy all male infants. Woldi Raphael next day marched to *Womberta*, and drove the sons of Shum Sherrer into the country of the *Takals*, where the latter, under Woldi Raphael, repaid their debt by behaving in the same brutal manner to the women of *Womberta*\*.

The very day that the battle was fought between Woldi Raphael and Wolokedan, the *Gusmati Ischias*, who had got the command of *Tigré* and the most numerous army that ever was assembled there, amounting to no less than fifty thousand troops, was encamped without the town of *Adowa*. All the chiefs of *Shiré* and *Hamazen*, and numerous *Amhara*, had joined him; *Subegadis*, who had marched, with a small army of brave followers, from *Agamé*, had encamped at

\* In justice to the Abyssinians it must be observed that the women are rarely treated with barbarity; they generally indeed pass from the hands of the vanquished to those of the conquerors, but without violence, and commonly with the consent of the females themselves; the virtue of chastity not ranking very high in the moral code of the country. *Editor*



Say Eddergar. The Gusmati Ischias went from Adowa, with the intent of encamping at some distance, and sending a detachment to take Subegadis ; but how was he disappointed when he learned that Subegadis had beaten the detachment back to the main army, which he attacked and soon put to flight. Never was there such slaughter known among chiefs, in the records of Abyssinia ; Bashaw Dingerze, son-in-law to Ras Michael, Ito Azariah, the son of Shiré, and a number of great men, altogether amounting to forty seven chiefs of great distinction, were killed. Next day, when Subegadis entered the Ras's dominions, at Adowa, according to custom, his army threw down their trophies before their chiefs, and one thousand nine hundred and seventy formed the pile. Subegadis would not permit them to be hung upon the walls, or about the front of the premises, according to the usual practice, knowing it must affect the people of Tigré ; for it was said that more than one hundred of the slain were descendants of Ras Michael's family ; he therefore ordered them to be buried. The Gusmati Ischias escaped, and fled to Arder Serat. Numerous other battles between inferior chiefs were fought, in different districts, about the same time, but it is impossible for me to detail the whole.



Guxo, the moment he heard of the Ras's death, marched and conquered Edjow, and soon after he began with Lasta.

It was found, when Woldi Raphael went to Antàlo, that the guns were dismounted and the wheels and carriages could not be found. Aversaw, previously to his marching against Wolockedan, finding out how he had been tricked, dismounted them and buried the wheels and carriages where they were not again found. He suspected that the advice had been given by me and Mr. Coffin, and how could the villain think otherwise? On the death of the Ras he had seized two thousand pieces of salt, belonging to me and Mr. Coffin, in the store at Antàlo, besides fifteen *interlams*, or *charns*, of corn, which he owed me, but which he never would pay.

Woldi Raphael sent for Mr. Coffin to draw the guns, which he found to be loaded. It would have been difficult to fire them, had they not been spiked; the Mahomedan having put in the cartridges without taking off the thick paper-bags that covered the flannel cartridge-bags, neither had he rammed them home, cramming three upon each other, then a canister and a round shot, with a wad of sheep-skin over all. This appeased Woldi Raphael's anger against the Mahomedan, as Mr. Coffin assured him that it must have been



done wilfully, to prevent the guns being fired. Woldi Raphael ordered them to be taken to the mountain Allage: he succeeded in getting one thither in four days; I cannot say what became of the other\*.

Subegadis remained only six days in Tigré; he then left part of his army under the Gusmati Wolockedan, grandson of Ras Michael, who had joined him, to take care of Tigré, and marched for Enderta. Woldi Raphael had had several battles with Ito Guebra, son of the late Gas Woldi of Wojjerat, whom he always defeated, except in one battle, when his brother Gusho was made prisoner, and Guebra took him to the Hazorta Galla. Woldi Raphael was glad to come to terms with Guebra, and to release his brother. By this time Subegadis had advanced near, and halted, for some days, at Serrer, as he marched from Tigré round by Arramat, purposely to recruit his army, which was reinforced at Serrer by a number of Telfains, a tribe between the Galla and Taltal, which had always shewn a great regard towards Subegadis. From Serrer he marched towards Antälo; Woldi Raphael went one day's march to meet him, and the two armies encamped near to each other, within a mile of the town of

\* I understand from Mr. Coffin that both guns were afterwards discovered and remounted.—*Editor*.



Woger Arreva, the capital of Ito Debbib, the late Ras's brother. Several messages were sent backward and forward from each side, through the priests, to endeavour to come to terms to prevent bloodshed. But Dimsu, son of Ito Debbib, would not consent that Woldi Raphael should comply with any of Subegadis's demands; for, though this Dimsu had been married to Subegadis's sister many years, and had by her four children, still he was his greatest enemy. Finding that nothing could prevent a bloody battle, the priests left the ground, and in the morning the two armies moved upon each other, in the plain between the two camps, when a very hard battle began. Guebra Gura, brother to Subegadis, both by father and mother, and as brave as himself, who acted as Fit-aurari from the time they had defeated the Gas Ischias, was this day too hot, and led his army into the midst of Woldi Raphael's main body, while Subegadis, with his chief force, was still a considerable distance in the rear. Guebra Gura was soon killed, and great slaughter was made on both sides, not a soldier of Guebra Gura's being left alive; this gave courage to Woldi Raphael's army, who made sure of the victory: but Subegadis, hearing of his brother's death, rushed in among them at the head of his brave Agamés, who, with their musketry, for which



they are famous, soon stopped and quelled the courage of Woldi Raphael's army.

The famous Bulla horse belonging to the late Ras, which Ito Guebra rode, was shot, and Guebra taken prisoner. The horse, much prized by the Ras, and given to him by Guxo, on which Woldi Raphael rode, was shot also, but Woldi Raphael had just time to mount another and escape. Dimsu was the first that galloped off, and when Subegadis observed it he called aloud, "Dimsu, my brother-in-law, runs like a monkey." A great number of horses were shot, and their riders put to death. This day was killed Chellica Woldi Michael, captain of all the late Ras's household, and a great favourite. There also fell Gafurhe Tusfu, the head gatekeeper to the Ras; Ito Carse Daure, one of the Ras's secretaries, and more than seven hundred of the soldiers who were in general about the Ras's person.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, as I lay in a very low state and unable to move, I was alarmed by Mr. Coffin, with several neighbouring women and their children, coming to seek protection in my house. I could hear the dreadful cries of those retreating and running for their lives, and the warlike shouts of the pursuers entering the town. I was carried up to a small loft



above the room where I was then lying, where we could see every transaction. Not being able to stand, I lay on a couch, prepared to fire from the window, if they approached; while Mr. Coffin, with some of the servants, well barred the doors below. From this spot I could see the victors killing all whom they caught, and a great body advancing towards my house, some of whom I knew, and I called out to them to keep off, which they readily did and went in pursuit of other prey; till at length a body of Telfains, intermixed with some Womberta Christians, arrived, when I thought it was high time to fire: but the entreaties of those who were with me, and especially the cries of the women, prevented me, as they exclaimed, "If you kill one they will set fire to the thatch and we shall all be burnt alive!" My doors, which were only canes, covered with hides, were soon cut to pieces, and while Mr. Coffin put his head out of the window to tell them not to be rash, and that he would open the door to them, one gave him a prick on the forehead with a spear, telling him to make haste about it. The wound, though small, had covered Coffin's face with blood, and I thought it had been worse than it was. My poor premises swarmed like a hive of bees. The mules and other cattle below were first carried off, then the stripping of every soul



commenced, and then the killing of every male that could be found : the poor women crying out, with their children in their arms, " Mine is a girl ! mine is a girl ! "

This happened in the odd days of Pogmy, and two days before new year's day, and my house, like all others, at this period, had plenty of maize and *sowa* prepared for the holyday. In one corner of the loft stood a large jar, from which an old acquaintance of mine, who had promised to remain in the house, to see that none of the Telfain or Womberta people killed us, was bailing out the maize by large hornfuls and handing it to his comrades ; while, on the same arm with which he drew the maize, he had three of their horrid trophies hanging from his wrist. However, he soon became rather stupified with drinking, and left us to the mercy of the Womberta, Taltals, and Telfains ; the former had a great spite against me and Mr. Coffin, for we had been at the plundering and burning of their country twice before with the Ras. They consulted whether they should kill us, but, knowing that Subegadis was our friend, and had frequently lodged at my house, they were afraid, though some caught hold of Mr. Coffin, and, when nearly in the act of taking his life, were hindered by others. They disputed very much what they should do with me ; the



people who dragged the cloth from my back told me they only took it to prevent its falling into other hands, but they said no one that knew me would kill me. Luckily some of Subegadis's household happened to come, when not a thing was left in the house but our naked bodies ; and they caught hold of me, and carried me in their arms to the Abuna's premises. Coffin, and all that were with us, followed, and here I was seen by Chellica Tusfu, Subegadis's captain of the household, who did all he could to find some of my plundered property, but to no purpose. Mr. Coffin received a cloth from Gabri Yasous ; and the next day, when Ogge Nuro, a Mahomedan and acquaintance, came from Antàlo, he gave Mr. Coffin a new cloth. The old Copti Gorgis lent me a mule, and I went with some soldiers of Subegadis to the camp, Mr. Coffin accompanying me on foot. When we arrived at the skirts of the camp, it being late, we were ordered to remain in the tent of Ito Nockindes, who had taken the office of Fit-aurari, instead of Guebra Gura. Here a soldier was discovered to have killed a priest; however he made his escape without being brought to shame. Fifty-six of my poor neighbours were killed, for which reason I had none to help me or take care of my mule, but Subegadis's soldiers.



Next morning, very early, I and Mr. Coffin were taken into the camp of Subegadis, before they had begun to bring in the usual trophies to throw down before his tent. On seeing us he was quite angry, and sent for the Chellica whom he had ordered to look after us ; but, when I had made him sensible that he was not in fault, he became a little more satisfied, and desired the drum to be beat to give up all property plundered at Chelicut, and not to hide any upon pain of death ; neither would he receive any of their trophies till the order was fulfilled. Piles of carpet, silks, household furniture, and even dollars, were soon brought and put in separate heaps before the tent, for the owner to claim. We soon recovered our mules and cattle. I being too ill to look among the crowd for my property, Mr. Coffin procured, from the heaps, all my cloths and my wife's. I sat in the tent, with Subegadis and his brother Sardie, while the search was made. Mr. Coffin found some of his property, but lost all his dollars.

After every one had declared that he had returned all his plunder taken in the town of Chelicut, the front of the tent was thrown open, and the chiefs began to appear with their troops in turn, boasting as usual and throwing down the proofs of their deeds. Two Taltals were cut



down by Subegadis's orders, in the front of the tent, for presenting the trophies of priests, which from peculiar circumstances are readily distinguished from others. He also cut off the right hand of a soldier, who had secreted a gun belonging to Mr. Coffin, taken at Chelicut; and, though a good soldier, neither I nor Mr. Coffin could save him, though we begged Subegadis to forgive him.

After burning the town of Woger Arreva, (I and Mr. Coffin had returned in the mean while to Chelicut with the inhabitants) Subegadis marched towards Antàlo; he gave into my charge two cows and ten sheep, for the Abuna, and next day entered Antàlo. The townspeople had gone out to meet and welcome him with drums, men, women, and children.

Since the death of the Ras, the Gas Guebra Michael, of Temben, had been quiet in his own country, and had not interfered either way, but had been careful in collecting all the strength he could to protect his country; and, having near five thousand muskets, he was the most powerful chief with whom Subegadis had to contend. Since Subegadis had left Tigré, the Gas Ischias had given battle to his nephew Wolokedan, and had taken him prisoner. Guebra Michael, fearing that Subegadis would soon quit Antàlo for



Temben, sought the most advantageous situation to give battle; he had also agreed with some chiefs, whom Subegadis had beaten, that they should pretend to be friends with him, and persuade him to blockade the Temben army in the place in which they had appointed to trepan him. This was on an almost square height, surrounded by precipices, and thick thorny bushes and trees, close by the river Gibba. Subegadis took the advice, and marched from Antalo to besiege the Temben camp. On passing Chelicut, he was persuaded by some of the superstitious chiefs to go to the Abuna's premises, to receive his blessing. I told the man whom he sent to call on me to see how I did not to let his master go near the Abuna for his blessing, for those who had before done so had had bad luck, naming Woldi Raphael, Aversaw, Arriah, and Wolockedan, who had been to him for his blessing before they went to battle, and at those times only had been defeated. Subegadis had never seen the Abuna since he arrived in the country, and indeed he is a man who thinks very little of religion, neither has he any superstitious notions belonging to him.

The same day he was led by his treacherous guides, who had forsworn themselves, into the very spot prepared for his overthrow. He ordered the storming of the height, through thick



woods, but the moment he began the attack, those chiefs who formed a part of one of his flanks began to fight against him, while Shum Temben Safu, Guebra Michael's brother, with a strong body, chiefly musket-men, came through the dark woods in his rear. He was soon surrounded, and had no way to retreat except through the river, which was in many places very deep. A shocking slaughter ensued in the water. Subegadis shot Guebra Michael's horse from under him, just as he had mounted, when coming down the height, but to no purpose—he was defeated, and his army cut in pieces. He and his son August, and his brothers, Sardie and Guebra Middin, with their sons, were taken prisoners. Arriah, the Ras's son, who had joined the Temben army, was the person into whose hands Subegadis fell. Previously to the action Guebra Michael had given orders not to kill any chief, upon pain of death; however Ito Cauffil, a great man, one of the sons of Shum Sherrer, was killed, and Palambarus Tocluc and Ito Musgrove were taken prisoners. On the Temben side, Shum Temben Keros was killed, for which reason numbers of the Temben army wanted to put Subegadis to death, but Guebra Michael would not consent to their demands; he delivered up all the prisoners to Woldi Raphael and the Ras's relations, who



had come and encamped below the hill of Muculla, in the plain of Gambela. Here Guebra Michael threw down his trophies to Woldi Raphael. Dimsu insisted that the eyes of Subegadis and his brothers should be put out, but to this Woldi Raphael would not consent, and they were conveyed to the mountain Arrara in chains.

Meanwhile Gas Ischias had again established himself in Tigré; Arriah had raised a strong army, and was plundering the Zellans of his late father of all their cattle, and Ito Gabras, with Ito Gabra Sardou and Woldi Samuel, whom Woldi Raphael had released from his chains since the death of the Ras, had also appeared with a great army in the districts of Wojjerat. While Woldi Raphael was gone to give them battle, Arriah came to Chelicut with intent to save his father's property that was in the church, and convey it to the *giddams* in the wilderness of Temben. The Abuna also attempted to quit the place, in doing which the populace flew upon his goods and people, cut the goods from the asses' backs, stripped his servants, and gave him a severe reprimand for having so little faith as to attempt to run away from his people; this frightened him so much that he remained calm and quiet.

A few days afterwards we heard that Woldi Raphael had defeated Guebra; for which reason



Arriah came, and offered his assistance to those in Chelicut, in getting them away to the *giddams*, as Woldi Raphael had sworn not to consider Chelicut as a *giddam*, since the Abuna had attempted to desert, and the inhabitants had plundered. Knowing what was likely to happen to Chelicut, I agreed to start with the multitude then preparing to quit, consisting of persons of both sexes, men, women, and children, every one of whom was now determined to depart. I was so weak that my servants were obliged to support me on my mule. Before we had proceeded far, I heard, in our rear, a dreadful screaming among the women; I looked behind me and saw them running in all directions into the woods, and people, some on horseback and some on foot, chasing them, and taking away their loaded asses and bundles, or whatsoever they carried.

After encountering many difficulties, I got at dark into the *giddam* in Temben, where we had no fear of enemies, except wild beasts. We were in a thick wood, with not less than a thousand in the party, nearly all of whom had been robbed, and provisions were very scarce for supper; we kept up large fires all night. Next day we marched along the river Abby Arderrer, towards the Tacazzé. In the evening we came to the *giddam* Selassé, or the Trinity church, where we procured



some parched corn from the monks, and remained there for the night. Next morning every one began to look out for the best place to settle themselves in with their family. Numerous hollow and excavated rocks were in the sides of the mountain, chiefly resorted to by monks; and some, that were formerly empty, were occupied by people who had fled thither with their property since the death of the Ras. Some were in such precipices that they were obliged to have ropes to ascend and descend; but I, being too weak to attempt to be hauled up to any of these holes, got my servants to build me a *gojee*, or hut, with the boughs of trees, and then thatch it with grass. No corn was to be had in this wild spot, which made it a bad place of abode, and what provisions I had ordered to be brought were taken, as well as the asses that carried them. Ozoro Sean, the Ras's wife, daughter of the king Tecla Gorgis, had chosen one of the highest caves in a rock for her residence; one day, one of her servants, in attempting to get up without the rope-ladder being put down for him, fell and rolled down to the river-side, where he was found quite dead.

I was not many days here before I was obliged to send my servants away to the Gas Guebra Michael, in search of corn, leaving me only two



boys and a female Galla slave with my young daughter. At a short distance from my habitation was a church, where a great number of monks lived, and a little village, well walled round, built with a white clay, very hard, and stones, which they got from a mountain just behind them; no female, either of the human or any inferior species, is permitted to enter this sacred village. Not a church or house can be seen till you are close to them, the valley is so thickly overgrown with large trees and bushes. The nuns live apart in a small miserable village, about a mile distant from the men. Along the banks of the river the monks have many gardens, in which they grow grapes, plantains, limes, pepper, &c. Numbers of them pass their time in keeping watch, in order to prevent the monkeys and birds from devouring the fruit.

Here are many crocodiles, and the species called *ongour*; the former are not so numerous, and all very small, which made me think they migrated to the Tacazzé as they grew large, for I never could see any but such as were quite young. The monks told me that in the month of August, when the river is full or overflowed, the large crocodiles come up from the Tacazzé and lay their eggs on the banks, where there is little shade; leaving them there, they return to the Tacazzé,



before the river has fallen, and by the next year the young ones also go down in the flood, while large ones come up. The monks often kill them when they are very small.

Getting a little better of my disease, I became almost famished with hunger; my poor Galla had for many days supplied us with a seed called *adangores*, in the shape of a French bean, but much smaller, with black and brown spots. I resolved to sell the only mule I had, and bought a cow with the money, cattle being very cheap here, thousands having been brought by their owners for concealment. The flesh of this cow, after I had given a little to my near neighbours, I had cut into *quanta* and dried, but the wild beasts got scent of it, and we were obliged to keep watch all night to protect it.

Here a servant arrived, whom I left at Chelicut, and he informed me that Woldi Raphael had taken Arriah prisoner, who was carried to the mountain Arrara.

Hearing that the Gas Ischias had gained entire possession of Tigré, I was determined to get to that country if possible; and several others having resolved to do the same, we all set out together, the greater part consisting of women. For fear of being robbed, it was agreed that we should never quit the wilderness, but travel slowly, and



keep together till we came to the Gas Ischias's dominions. Happy it was that my servants, who had been gone three weeks to the Gas Guebra Michael, returned that very day, with four bushels of flour, some butter, and honey. They were angry at my selling my mule; but when they found my Galla and the two boys loaded with *quanta*, they were better satisfied. We set out all together, amounting to about two hundred, some carrying their children, others what little goods and provisions they had; which made it all the better for me, for I was too weak to travel fast, or far in a day.

We were six days before we crossed the river Warie, and never saw a path or road the whole of our way. After crossing the Warie, we found ourselves in the Gas Ischias's dominions; the whole distance was but one day's journey by a regular road for a healthy and single person. Our little camp by night appeared very large, for nearly every woman made her own fire to lie down by, fearing the wild beasts. The day we crossed the Warie, my servants killed with stones and sticks a large snake, which the cold morning had so benumbed that it lay in a great coil, waiting for the sun to give it warmth and life. I was determined to stop and have it skinned, but some of our camp kept on, and I never overtook them.



In the evening we reached a village belonging to Ito Nockindes, who had gone to camp with the Gas Ischias in Shiré ; the people gave us bread, milk, and a hut to sleep in. Here I spread the snake's skin to dry ; it measured about nine *peaks*, or nine times the length of my arm, from the elbow to the tip of the finger, and a span. A number of young guinea-fowls were found in its stomach. I had once a skin, which was lost at the plunder of Chelicut, that was given me by the Ras ; it measured twice as much, but was of the same kind.

Being now in a safe part of the country, every one of our party began to make the best of their way. I lodged at a village every night, until I reached Adowa late in the night of the 29th of October. Here I found many friends, who brought me loads of bread, cooked victuals, sheep, maize, and *sowa*. Bashaw Abdalla came to me, and presented me with a good cloth, a large goat, and a great quantity of bread and maize. We were all in a jovial company at supper, but could scarcely eat for listening to each other's story of what had passed in Adowa, Tigré, and Enderta ; I never spent so happy an evening in my life, for I found myself quite well, and among my old friends.

Next day I sent away a servant, with one of



Bashaw Abdalla's, to inform Gas Ischias of my arrival, and want of provisions for the future. The third day they returned with a fat cow, ten pieces of cloth, and an order to the *aristie* for five *interlams* of corn; some servants of the Gas, who came with them, also told me that their master promised to provide for me as Ras Welled Selassé had done.

About this time Baharnegash Yasous, of Dixan, had plundered the *cofla* from Massowa; still, as there was another road, and a *cofla* going to start, I wrote a letter to the British Resident at Mocha and sent it off in the beginning of November. Shortly afterwards the *cofla* was again plundered, and some of the people killed at Gulla; this brought the Gas Ischias from Shiré, who soon recovered part of the plundered property, and burnt the villages of the offenders. Mr. Salt's acquaintance, Ito Novilisk, was one of the head leaders; he was obliged to quit his country and fly to Enderta. While the Gas Ischias was in Shiré, he had released his nephew, Wolockedan, from chains, and had restored him to his former districts; which created jealousy in the hearts of the sons of Nebrid Aram, to whom his districts had been given; so a quarrel took place, and Wolockedan was killed, and Woldi Selassé, son of Nebrid Aram, was speared through the neck,



but recovered. Every thing except cloth was remarkably cheap in Adowa, notwithstanding the calamities in every other part of the country, as the soldiers who brought in plunder sold it for one quarter of the value.

Shortly after the Gas Ischias came to Adowa intelligence was brought that Subegadis had escaped from the mountain Arrara, and had safely arrived with his brothers and his son Ilo, who had raised a pretty strong army. On hearing this, the Gas Ischias marched to Abatsarma,\* whence he sent to Subegadis, requesting to be on terms of friendship with him; and in a few days it was settled that Subegadis should not attempt to plunder any of his districts of Tigré, or cross the Teras Moi, nor should the Gas Ischias cross that river towards him; which being settled, the Gas, with a large army, marched, by way of Temben Kolla, to give battle to Woldi Raphael and Guebra Michael, then in Enderta. Woldi Raphael, seeing such a numerous army, avoided an engagement till he had collected all the force he could.

\* Abatsarma is a large village not far from Adowa, resorted to by thieves. They were upheld by Ras Michael, who received a certain tax from them yearly, so that their village was never to be searched in quest of lost property, but if taken in the act of robbing they were to be punished like other individuals. There is a church built there by Ras Michael called Ouner Takley Himanute.



The Gas Ischias entered Antàlo, and dwelt for some days about that place. On the day he was obliged to march out to give battle to Woldi Raphael and Guebra Michael, Ito Dimsu and Mr. Coffin had joined the Gas Ischias, the former through relationship; so the latter was obliged to march with his friend. The battle took place at Mugee, in the boundaries of Wojjerat: in the first part of the day the Gas Ischias won the battle, but the Temben army under Guebra Michael, who was a very wary chieftain, came round in the Gas Ischias's rear, and soon put his army into confusion. The Gas Ischias was taken prisoner, and so was Dimsu, Mr. Coffin's friend, and Coffin himself. The Gas Ischias and all the chiefs, as well as Mr. Coffin, were sent to Arrara, as prisoners, till ransomed.

Subegadis, hearing that the Gas Ischias was taken prisoner, marched from his country, and took possession of the districts called the Seven Gillas, Honhila, and Ambasanate.

About this time, several battles were fought in Gojam, between Ackly Marro and Ito Woldi Raphael, and between Guxo and Ras Ilo; the latter had lost almost half of the province of Lasta. Gojee, a Galla chief of Edjow, who had been totally defeated by Guxo, and obliged to resign his country, had entered into the service



of his young relation Homoda. Some years before this Gojee was a terror throughout all the southern provinces of Abyssinia, till conquered in 1807 by Ras Welled Selassé, as mentioned in Mr. Salt's Travels.

Shortly after the defeat of Gas Ischias, Woldi Raphael and Guebra Michael came to the king Tecla Gorgis, at Axum, to receive their *gama*, or to have their titles renewed by him. Subegadis, at the same time, came to terms with them both, and also went to Axum with his army, where the whole three agreed to appoint the king to divide the territories of the late Ras between them. The agreements were sworn to in the church, and each kissed the Crying Cross, already mentioned in this narrative.

The king sent to Subegadis to inform him that if he wished to have the title of Gusmati, he would bestow it upon him, thinking that his bravery had justly entitled him to it. Subegadis, in answer to the king, said, "The king must first, by self-power, maintain his own titles, and then think about titling others;" adding, "If I gain any title it shall be by my own spear." Subegadis well knew that the king merely wanted money, every one who receives a title from him being obliged to pay for it, either in cattle, money, or muskets. However Subegadis's reply did not



please the other two chiefs, and they became jealous, Guebra Michael more so than the other, as he always supposed that Woldi Raphael had treacherously suffered Subegadis to escape from the mountain. On leaving Axum they proceeded to Adowa. Some hundreds of petty chieftains had, during their stay at Axum, received titles from the king, such as Chellica, Allica, Asgas, Bashaw, Connaquo, Palambarus, Cannasmash, Gusmati, &c. Several of my old companions had obtained newnames, many of whom had but seldom the common appellation of Ito or Mr.; but the articles of plunder they had fortunately procured brought them any title below a Gusmati. Tecla Gorgis paid no respect to persons; he gave any title they required if they paid well; by which means Tecla became rich. I observed his household servants continually in the market, selling muskets, mules, and horses, which he had received from those to whom he had sold titles.

In the agreement between the three Gusmaties, it was settled that Woldi Raphael should be considered as head and have command in the capitals of Adowa and Antàlo. But Subegadis, leaving Tigré and going to Agamé, his native district, Guebra Michael took advantage, when he saw that nearly the whole of Woldi Raphael's army had marched to Enderta, broke his oath, and sent



word from his camp to Woldi Raphael, who occupied the premises of the late Ras, to quit the town, and make room for him to exercise his authority as Ras. Woldi Raphael would not comply, but judging, with great good sense, that if hostilities took place in the town it would ruin it for ever, he marched about half-way from the town to Abba Garimur, and there encamped, determined not to go off without trying his little force. The Temben army was very numerous, and encamped in the mountain a little above the church Kudus Michael, when a skirmish took place, of which all the townspeople were spectators from their houses; but Woldi Raphael, being overpowered by an army of more than fifteen thousand, was obliged to fly, leaving all his musketry; which made the Temben army still more powerful. Subegadis, hearing of the treacherous affair, came towards Tigré to take part with Woldi Raphael, but the latter had made the best of his way by Giralta to Enderta. Subegadis, being in great haste to assist Woldi Raphael, had not taken time to collect a powerful army. Guebra Michael marched to meet him, and a hard battle was fought, but Subegadis was obliged to retreat to a neighbouring mountain, yet without losing much ground. Guebra Michael returned home to Temben by way of Adowa; he



endeavoured to persuade me also to go to live in Temben, to which I would not agree; he ordered me, however, some provisions and honey, but the *aristies*, upon whom they were ordered, would not advance any thing, as they said, "God knows whether Guebra Michael, Woldi Raphael, or Subegadis, may come back again."

About this time a battle was fought between Ito Barrier, son of the late Safarling Guebra Abba and Palambarus Woldi Takley, brother to Ras Ilo, in which battle the latter was killed.

Adowa remained for some time totally under the care of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, whom Guebra Michael had placed there as governor. Ozoro Wolleta Raphael, his wife, with whom I had formerly been acquainted, behaved exceedingly well to me, and not only allowed me a certain portion of provisions, but permitted me to eat at her table.



## CHAPTER XV.

Pearce receives a Box from Mr. Salt—Ethiopian Psalters—Tyrannical Proceedings of the Abuna—Discontent of the People—Defeat of Woldi Raphael by Ito Barrier—Diseases in the Kolla Countries—Suicide from Grief—Change in the Abuna's conduct toward Pearce—Wretched Condition of the People—Ozoro Wolleta Raphael—Pearce attends her to the Church of Abuna Pentila—Sinfulness of having two Children at a Birth—Military Operations—Overtures from Subegadis to Pearce—Battle between petty Chiefs near Axum—Dimsu defeated and slain—Discovery of Printed Books—Converts to Mahomedanism—Pearce's Excursion to Agut-Adite—His Visit to Bashaw Abdalla—A Political Dreamer—Death of Bashaw Abdalla—Evasion of Justice by Priests—Arrival of the Gas Ischias and his Army at Adowa—Many of the Inhabitants leave the Town—Reception of the Abuna by King Tecla Gorgis at Axum—Remedy for Sterility in Women.

ABOUT the middle of January, 1817, I received a letter from Currum Chund, a Banyan at Massowa, informing me that a Greek had arrived there from Egypt and brought a box for me. I immediately sent a man to fetch it, but the bearer would not part with it till he had my receipt for it; so I was obliged, after anxiously waiting the arrival of the man I had sent for more than a month, to send him back again with a receipt. Here again, on his arrival at Massowa, the bearer would not deliver the box till he had been paid



the carriage of it. My man, having no money, was obliged to apply to Currum Chund, who satisfied the Greek; and luckily, by a safe road, it arrived with the *cofla* in the middle of March. How happy was I, on opening it, to find that it came from Mr. Salt, and that he had been appointed consul-general of Egypt! as it afforded me a prospect of relief from actual misery, should my disease again return and render me an absolute cripple.

The box contained several articles for myself and some Ethiopian Psalters, to be distributed among the Abyssinians, and if possible to get in exchange some of their Scriptures. The superstitious people not only found fault with the print being too small, and with the sacred names, because they were not printed in red ink; but the perfect similarity of the books made them suppose that they had been completed by some supernatural being; though some of superior knowledge allowed them to excel any of their manuscripts. Although I could not obtain anything in exchange, I could find numbers of beggars for them. Bashaw Abdalla having given me a mule, I took them to different monasteries, where the priests found many faults with the books, but accepted them thankfully, and on my return would present me with either a sheep, a



goat, or a little honey ; but this is customary on paying a common visit.

In April I received a letter from the East India Company's agent at Mocha, informing me that he had sent over to Massowa two parcels of the Psalter, which had been sent by Mr. Salt, and that he had paid sixty dollars for conveying them from Mocha to Massowa. I immediately sent to inform him, that the price he had been charged was too exorbitant, being as large a sum as Captain Rudland paid for a vessel freighted with horses, which I used to send over to him. I again sent the same man who went before to fetch them from the coast ; he returned with them in June, and I began to distribute them as I had done the former.

The country about Adowa had been pretty quiet under the government of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, till the Abuna arrived from Temben, when every thing began to be in confusion. He had taken up his residence at Kudus Gorgis Moi Gogua, when he demanded the districts belonging to the former Abunas, which are known by the name of Arder Abuna ; but those districts having been for many years under the government of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, he refused to give them to the Abuna. This caused the Abuna to begin his old tricks, forbidding, by what the Abyssinians



call *guzzart* [interdict] any one in the Tigré dominions to eat, drink, draw water, or break wood, &c., till they had compelled Guebra Amlac to deliver up the government of the country called Arder Abuna. The people were for some time stubborn, and did not comply with the *guzzart*, till at last he shut the churches, and the priests being always ready to obey, no service was to be performed in the churches, no prayers to be said over the dead, or any *fettart* or *toscar* to be given; and any individuals taking part with Guebra Amlac were no longer to be considered as Christians, but ranked as Mussulmans.

The priests began to assemble in a gang, and raise the people against Guebra Amlac, who was obliged to give way, and the country was put under the Abuna's authority. In a short time the Abuna began to be so oppressive that the poor could not live, and those of a higher class began to murmur, indeed none, but those whom he had put in authority under him, were contented. He had demanded from the inhabitants double the former duties paid to Guebra Amlac, and he had more than doubled the quantity of corn, honey, and cloths, which they had been accustomed to furnish; and, when displeased with any of his subjects, he took away their oxen, their lands, and even their dwellings, and disposed of them



to others as he chose. In every village and town there was want, until the oppressed overcame those in authority under the Abuna, and they were obliged to fly to their master's premises for protection; but the Abuna, being fearful, denied them protection within his walls, and they were obliged to fly from the district entirely. A great multitude of the oppressed people assembled round his premises, which so terrified him that he was obliged to call Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac to come and protect him. At first he refused to attend, till the Abuna sent word that he had restored the government to him, and that he would be contented with the original income of the Abunas, and receive it at his hands. On hearing this, Guebra Amlac waited upon him, and things were settled; but the Abuna would not forgive the people, who had murmured against him, and by *guzzart* pronounced them excommunicated. This only made the people worse, to think they should have the comforts of their faith refused by him, after they had subscribed to bear his expences from Egypt, and to pay him for confirming them in their faith. Those excommunicated were constantly disputing with those whom the Abuna had selected for his service, and many villages were ruined, and lives were lost, till the Abuna was obliged to take off his *guzzart*,



and the government was quiet for some time under Guebra Amlac.

Every thing remained pretty quiet till towards the fall of the rains, when Woldi Raphael began to move. He marched from Antàlo in August, during the fast for the Blessed Virgin, against Ito Barrier, who had raised a considerable army in Bora and Salora. After a very severe battle, Woldi Raphael's army was defeated and himself taken prisoner, with a great number of other chiefs, some of whom, in the time of Ras Welled Selassé, were the most powerful to the eastward of the Tacazzé, namely, Palambarus Toclu, and Chellica Comfu, whom, as well as others, Barrier released for a heavy ransom. Gusho, brother to Woldi Raphael, who had escaped when their army was defeated, fled immediately to the mountain Arrara, and released Arriah, his cousin, from chains. The troops then in the country, siding with the Ras's relations, joined Arriah and Gusho, and kept the mountain Arrara, till the latter was obliged to give it up to Barrier as a ransom for his brother Woldi Raphael. Arriah entered Antàlo, where he was joined by Aversaw, but being a cripple, from the wound he had received in the battle with Bashaw Wolockedan, and not able to take part in the battle which he had to expect, he was appointed gover-



nor of Antàlo, which was formerly his father's and his own situation in the time of the Ras. Woldi Raphael remained a considerable time with Barrier after he had gained his freedom, they having been from their infancy companions and brothers-in-law.

During the month of September, several messengers passed through Adowa from the Ras Guxo and the Gusmati Hilier Mariam to Subegadis. Guebra Amlac, hearing of their being in the town, made great efforts to apprehend them, but to no purpose.

Several days of heavy rain fell about the middle of this month, which is not common, and was supposed to have occasioned a plague in the Kolla parts of Shiré and Deverer Abba, which killed several hundred of the inhabitants of Tsumbella, as well as affected other Kolla, or hot parts of Abyssinia. These Kolla countries are in general very unhealthy, in the latter end of August and the beginning of September, which concludes the rainy season, when the sun has great power. The small-pox also appeared in the Mahomedan part of the town of Adowa, which disorder was brought thither by a *cofla* of slaves, who were forced in consequence to depart for Massowa, and the disorder soon disappeared.

An old woman, about this time, had the mis-



fortune to lose two of her children, and when she saw the second, a daughter, expire before her eyes, she became so frantic with grief that she strangled herself. Some people, entering to visit the patient, found her dead, and her mother hanging lifeless from a beam, by a leathern strap round her neck, though her feet could touch the ground. A young man and woman, the surviving offspring of the old woman, being soon informed of the event, ran in a distracted state to behold their dead relatives, while, according to custom, other relations were sent about the town to warn the people to bury their friends and kindred. Here great disputes arose: the relations wished the mother and daughter to be buried in one grave, but the priests would not consent to this. The daughter was therefore buried within, and the mother without, the church walls of Kudus Michael, though these priests did not deny her a *fettart* or *toscar*, for the sake of the money and other property they receive on such occasions.

The *cofla* to and from Massowa, which had been detained by the natives of Dixan and Arli, was suffered to pass; Arli was joined by too many districts, to whom they were related, for Dixan to contest any longer, the Nayib of Massowa also taking part with Arli; it was at last



determined that Arli should be the regular road for the *cofla*.

On the 22nd of this month, the Abuna came from Kudus Gorgis to perform service in the church Kudus Michael; he created great disturbances among the priests of the church, and dismissed the high priest, Rushe Woldi Yassous, from his office, for having married two wives.

The day after, having heard that I received most of my support from Bashaw Abdalla, the Abuna sent me twelve dollars, desiring that I would not live upon the alms of a Mahomedan. I was on the point of refusing it; but, being persuaded that it would be better to keep peace with him, I went to his premises to thank him. This sudden change made me imagine that he had received some reprimand from Egypt, for his unjust treatment of me.

In this month also, Guebra Michael of Temben marched towards Enderta. Arriah, not being able to give battle, abandoned Antälo, and went to Wojjerat. Ras Ilo of Lasta, who had come to terms with Ras Guxo, attacked Waxum Twarrack of Socotta, who had been in the service of Barrier at the time his brother Woldi Takly was killed, and one of his sons; the other two were taken prisoners.



October. In the beginning of this month Subegadis encamped in the districts of Logo, and plundered and burnt the whole of the district belonging to the sons of Baharnegash Subhart: he also took a great number of cattle from the inhabitants of Dixan, which he offered to return if Baharnegash Yasous would collect and return to the poor *cofla* their plundered property; but it was too late, for it had all been sold to other *coflas*. The *cofla* from Gondar brought intelligence of the Gusmati Ackly Marro being surrounded by the rebels of Gojam, and Agow Mudda. Ras Guxo would not march to his assistance, as the people of Begemder and Lasta were in an unsettled state.

The Abuna, seeing I had become a great favourite of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac and his wife Wolleta Raphael, sent to me to become a messenger between him and Guebra Amlac. He demanded Guebra Amlac's house, but the latter would not at first comply, as it would prove a great loss to him in moving his property to another part of the country; but he told the Abuna he would collect people and build him another house as good as his own, on any spot of ground he would point out; accordingly the town drum was beat to warn the people to assemble to build the Abuna's dwelling, but few appeared.



For some time past people, formerly tradesmen and petty merchants of the town of Adowa, had been returning from Gondar, whither they had fled at the death of the Ras, to keep clear of the calamities which were sure to follow; but the present situation of Gondar was worse, on account of the governor, Ackly Marro, not being able to return from Agow Mudda. The Tigre tyrants and rebels are not so bad as the Galla or Amhara; the former only threaten with a drawn knife, or spear, to make people bring out their property, and are content when once they have stripped them naked; but the latter do not cease tormenting, even if they have found a considerable quantity of property, and, supposing that there is still more to be obtained, they are guilty of all kinds of barbarity to discover it. They tie pieces of broken earthen pots, made hot in the fire, to the temples of their victims, pour hot water into their ears, and make them sit upon a hot iron plate on the fire, such as they bake their bread on, with their hands and feet tied. If such treatment does not make the sufferers bring out what they really have often not got, they leave them half-dead. Such barbarity is frequently known in Gondar. Since Ackly Marro has been in Agow Mudda, some troops of horse, belonging to the king Abdelcarder of Sennaar, made an attempt



to plunder the districts of Ras-el-feel, but they were driven back by the chiefs stationed there under Ackly Marro.

October the 11th. I was sent for by Ozoro Wolleta Raphael at cock-crow, begging I would accompany her to the church of Abuna Pentila, which is on the mountain of Pentila, near Axum. The great holiday for Abuna Pentila is always kept on the 6th of this month, but the unsettled state of the country would not permit the inhabitants of Adowa to attend on that day. I very readily agreed to the Ozoro's request, and she sent me a clean cloth, &c. On our road, she continually asked me questions relative to my country, the manners of the king and great people, and particularly the customs of the females; indeed, the number of strange questions she put to me would have made any one ashamed who had not been used to their manners, but, if I had not answered them, it would perhaps have offended her. More than one thousand women were on the road to this church, and not more than fifty men, who were the soldiers of Wolleta Raphael. Notwithstanding the unsettled state of the country, the women were in general dressed with all their silver ornaments; and those who had been fearful of dressing splendidly were reproached by the others. When we



had ascended the mountain, we had to go a little way on foot to the entrance of the church, where Ozoro made a bow to the ground, and kissed, as well as the whole assembly, the corner-stones of the gateway. The Ozoro, observing that I had not done the same, spoke to me very sharply, or rather holloood out and said, "What, Pearce, are you not afraid of Abuna Pentila's cursing you?" I said, "If he has the power of cursing, he would rather curse me for kissing a stone." "For God's sake," said she, "don't let the priests hear you." We afterwards entered the church on the side where the women are allowed to sit or stand; she had her book opened before her, and I took a station in front to turn over the leaves as she read them. After which, the sacrament being administered to those who desired it, the Kushe Gowerse, or head-priest, gave her his blessing, and the people began to disperse. However, she had something to say to me, and, in attempting to rise, she pulled me quite close to her by my cloth, and ordered her servants to withdraw to a little distance. She then began earnestly to inquire into the character of the late Ras's wife Ozoro Setches, with whom I had lived for some time during the commencement of my residence in Abyssinia. She also inquired after Ozoro Mantwaub and Ozoro Sean, wives to the



late Ras ; indeed, she bothered me so much that I wished her to leave the church and said, "*Meata* [mistress]-it is late in the day." "That is nothing," said she, "my mules are good. I asked you to come to church purposely to talk with you, and I hope you will always make my house your own, when Fit-aurari may be absent, otherwise I shall stop your allowance of corn," &c. I promised I would, and we left the church, mounted our mules, and rode home.

This lady is considered one of the most charitable and virtuous women in Abyssinia. She is the daughter of Ito Zogo, brother to the Gas Kefla Yasous, and cousin to Ras Welled Selassé, who was extremely fond of her, and gave her a number of large districts. She has six children by Guebra Amlac. I used to attend upon her every day, for which she increased my provisions, and frequently made me presents of sheep and goats. One day she had another long discourse with me, and asked me every question she possibly could, about the different nations of Europe. She also begged that I would keep secret a question she was going to put to me, and that I would answer it sincerely. I promised I would, and accordingly she ordered every one of the family out of the room except her two daughters. She then began by saying, "Don't your priests and



men of learning consider it a sin for a woman to have two children at a birth?" I answered, "They do not, they rather consider that she is blessed." She said, "Then why should the priests of our country pretend to know more than the learned men of your country pretend to know? Our priests say that God made Esau, the son of Isaac, hairy all over his body, like a beast, to show that it was not natural for women to bear two children at once, as Eve never did so, though she was the first that created sin. Isaac, being wise enough to know the sin, would own Jacob only to be naturally born; so he cursed Esau and blessed Jacob." I then interrupted her, and said, "Esau was intended to have had the blessing, but he lost it through the artfulness of his mother, who deceived Isaac in consequence of his eyes being dim with old age." "That is true, Pearce," replied she; "some of our priests say so too, but they say that God was the occasion of the mother's artfulness, otherwise Isaac would have blessed Esau, whom God did not love." She then said, "See my two daughters," who were by her side; "these were both borne by me at once; this was the first that came into the world," putting her hand upon the one called Sinecart, "and do you think I can love her sister, although the father of my soul (meaning



her priest) ordered me to fast four months from the time these children were brought forth? This he knew I could never survive, having two children to suckle; so I obtained his forgiveness by paying the amount of five *wakeahs* of gold." She continued, "I am extremely glad you have declared that in your country there is not thought to be any sin in this circumstance; but for God's sake let no one know what we have been talking of."

After this she began to inquire into the state of subordination in my country, and in what manner the soldiers were kept under their masters. "You see," continued she, "that our soldiers leave us as they please, and join our greatest enemy. If we give them too much indulgence they want to be masters; if we give them too little they grumble and will not obey, and if we are angry they abuse us and even threaten us; so we are obliged to talk with them and give answers to any questions they may take the liberty to ask us, and frequently to promise them something that we are not able to give. In this manner we make shift to keep them, though the less we give them the better they are." She appeared highly satisfied, and I left her, promising to attend her every day.

October 13th. Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac



marched from Tigré to join the Temben army, under the command of Guebra Michael, at Mugga in Giralta, but before he had proceeded far he was ordered to return. Their intent was to march against Subegadis, but in attempting to do so Hilier Mariam and Bashaw Wolockedan began to move towards Temben in their rear. In this manner Guebra Michael could not quit his country, nor Subegadis his, to march towards Temben, on account of the number of districts, namely, Digan, Logo, Avarro, and the country of Baharnegash Subhart's son, not being under subjection, and which, having had their towns and villages burnt by him, would revenge themselves on Agamé during his absence. The Enderta could not march against Temben, for fear of Barrier in their rear, and in this manner all remained quiet for some time; but it was impossible for people with property, or even with clothing, to travel in safety from one district to another. Every messenger or person going on business went naked.

Ras Ilo, being satisfied with the revenge he took of Waxum Twarrack's sons for the death of his brother, came to terms with Barrier, and, to dry up the blood on both sides, gave Barrier his brother Woldi Takley's daughter. Though Ras Ilo gave his niece to the assailant of her



father, as if he intended to dry up blood, as the Abyssinians term it, it was also to form a relationship, seeing that Barrier had become powerful, and able to protect him in case he should be obliged to seek an asylum in his dominions through the tyranny of Guxo ; who, he had every reason to expect, would never be a true friend, though he had for the present made an alliance with him.

On the 14th of this month, the Abuna again broke out, and had resort to his former scheme of laying a *guzzart* on the people, who did not take part with him against Guebra Amlac, by which the latter was obliged to give the Abuna his premises to satisfy him, and he sent his wife Wolleta Raphael with the family to live at Arsi, a beautiful village about ten miles north-east of Adowa. To this place I had frequently to go to attend on Ozoro Wolleta Raphael, and on those occasions I used to procure a number of the eggs of wild geese, and different species of ducks, numbers of which I used to put under hens to hatch, and, greatly to the astonishment of the Abyssinians they always brought forth young, which settled many arguments I had held before with some, who would insist that a hen could not hatch any other eggs but her own. They would even call me mad, when I asserted that I could bring forth



the chickens without the aid of a hen or cock ; I also convinced them that they might bring forth guinea fowl or partridges in their premises by putting the eggs under a hen, but they are so superstitious that they believe every thing out of the common course of nature to be a sin, and said, if I advised them to practice such experiments, it was tempting them to commit one.

A servant of Subegadis came to me with a present of honey, who told me that his master wished me to come and live with him in Agamé, assuring me he would do all in his power to make me happy ; to which I answered that, were I to accept the offer, it would be placing me out of the way of ever holding any communication with my own country, either by letter or message, but that I heartily thanked him for his kindness. I had formerly presented him with one of my Psalters neatly bound in red morocco. Though he could not then read, he kept it as a handsome article, and was frequently showing it to the priests and visitors.

I learnt from the servant that his master had taken his late brother Guebra Guro's wife to himself, and had sent away his own wife, the daughter of Ito Debbib, from dislike to her brother Dimsu, but kept the children with him ; he took to his brother's wife immediately on his



escape from Arrara, and had a son by her. In Hamazen and the north country of Abyssinia, it is a general custom to take the brother's wife after his death; this act is called *worras*, and in those parts if a man dies without leaving children and leaves behind him a brother, who does not take his remaining wife to endeavour to raise up children to his brother's name, the latter is reckoned a sinner. The same custom is found in some parts of Amhara, though very seldom; but with the Galla the practice is universal.

During this month a very desperate battle took place between two petty chiefs, Ito Seraphel of Arcar Shiré and Ito Dimsu Middervi; this battle was fought near Axum. Seraphel, observing that Ito Dimsu had more than once plundered the *cofla* from Walkayt to Adowa, which passed through his district, sent word to Dimsu to desire he would have more regard for his own person and character, telling him, as there was no king or Ras to protect the poor and honest Negadis of that country, it would be more to his credit to protect them than unlawfully plunder them as he had done; and warning him that he intended to conduct the next *cofla* from Walkayt through his territories, and, if he stopped them, not only for a general plunder but under any unlawful pretence what-



ever, he would protect them. This enraged Dimsu so much, that he mustered all his forces, and lay in wait for the *cofla*, in a position which he thought most to his advantage in case Seraphel should be as good as his word. When the *cofla* came with Seraphel at its head, Dimsu opposed its passage unless it paid a duty that he himself had proposed. Accordingly, Seraphel desired the merchants to return some distance on the road with their goods; after which he began to approach Dimsu, who had taken a strong position in his rear. A battle soon commenced, and Seraphel, after several hours, drove Dimsu to the height in his rear, where he again renewed the battle. Dimsu, after losing nearly all his men, endeavoured to fly, but Seraphel came up with him, and, with his own spear, killed him and mangled his body in a barbarous way, cutting his flesh, and giving it to his soldiers to carry and throw to the dogs of the villages as they passed. A servant of mine, who was returning with the *cofla* from Walkayt, whither I had sent him, told me that Seraphel had only fifty-six shieldsmen and four matchlocks, and Dimsu had above one hundred shieldsmen and eight matchlocks. At first the victory seemed to incline to Dimsu's side; but Seraphel's were stout young men, and nearly all his relatives, while Dimsu's were



only the common *wotudas* of different countries, some of them formerly belonging to the Ras. Many priests and chiefs upbraided Seraphel for having so barbarously treated the body of Dimsu, but he made no other reply than by vowing that the carcase of a man who had been a mean robber deserved no better grave.

One day the Abuna sent for me, to show me some Feringee books, as he termed them; these books were a great number of bibles in Latin and Arabic, some in Latin and Ethiopic, and some in the Italian language. He said, "See, we have found out your secret place." I told him I did not know what he meant; he said "Read your country books." I told him they were not of my country; he persisted that I was a liar. He also shewed me a large chest full of pictures and books, which had never been used from the time they were printed; they were found in the monastery of Oun Aregouhe Deverer Damo; they were printed in Vienna, in 1785. The Abuna was delighted, and said to me several times, "I have found you out at last." He would not give credit to the high-priest, who assured him that the books were in the monastery long before I came into the country, and he himself did not know European dates or figures when I showed him them. However, he destroyed the



whole ; some he burnt and some he threw into the river Moi Gogu. A man happened to save one from destruction, which he brought to me ; it consisted of portions of the Scriptures in different languages, and a vocabulary of the French, Italian, Greek, and Persian languages. This book I preserved and gave to Mr. Salt. The Abyssinians declared that the Abuna was mad when he destroyed such fine books, with religious pictures, but he declared that they were the devil's books. By what I could learn from the priests of Deverer Damo, these books were brought into the country by a Roman Catholic priest of Gondar, of the name of Abba Tobias, who had been sent to Rome by those of that religion to bring a bishop, in which he at first succeeded, but after all the library of the intended bishop had been forwarded, circumstances happened which prevented him from reaching Abyssinia. Abba Tobias died soon after in Hamazen.

October 26th. I was this day sorry to see that two women and four boys were converted to Mahomedanism, without any notice being taken by the Christians, although such crimes would have been punished most barbarously but a few months before, not only in those who had turned to the religion, but also in those who had converted them. The complaint was laid before



Guebra Amlac, who very coolly said, "It is enough to make us all turn Mussulmans, when our patriarch is continually perplexing us and making us fast when we are hungry, to satisfy his own ends." Several people from Maitsha and Wadler had been here for many days, almost starving to death with hunger, and the Abuna had put off giving them his blessing from day to day, for which alone they had come, till they had sold all their necessaries; and numbers were glad to seek employment with the Mahomedans, who kidnapped them and sent them down to the coast, where they were sold for slaves.

Bashaw Abdalla, who is the head of the Mahomedan tribe in Abyssinia, being very ill and likely to die, having reached the advanced age of eighty-five, had given great encouragement to the Christians in distress to convert them, and he succeeded even upon his death-bed. Being one of my best friends, I went to see him; he appeared to be well aware of his approaching end, and begged I would call and see him frequently, which I promised to do, as soon as I should return from Agut-Adite, whither I was just going to pay a visit to Woldi Selassé, son of Nebrid Aram, who had sent his servants to ask me to come.

I left Adowa in the afternoon, and by sun-set



reached Axum, where I stopped till next morning. I again set out at daylight, and in about three hours came to the town of Segumma. Here an old friend brought me a goat, a jar of *sowa*, and some bread; after I had eaten I again set out, and a little before sun-set arrived at a village, consisting of five small huts, the residence of Zellans, who gave me plenty of milk, and lodged me in one of the best of their huts. In the morning I set out very early, and never stopped, except to give my mule water, till I arrived at the town of Agut-Adite. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when I arrived; I was informed that Ito Woldi Selassé and his brothers were encamped at the Tacazzé, whither they had gone to meet the Gas Hilier Mariam. The Allica of the town gave me provisions and lodgings, and I set out early next morning and reached the camp about four o'clock in the afternoon. The sons of Nebrid Aram were encamped on the east, and the Gas Hilier Mariam on the west bank of the Tacazzé, near the spot where the river Warie empties itself into the Tacazzé. I was very well received by Woldi Selassé and his brothers. They had met here purposely to swear alliance with Hilier Mariam. Woldi Selassé had sent for me merely to beg for a little English powder for priming,



supposing me to have such an article, as I had frequently supplied him with a little some years before. The morning here was so very cold that I wished to return the day after I came. The mountain Amba Hai appears very close to this spot; it was then covered with snow. I assured Woldi Selassé that I had none of my English powder left, and on the evening of the day after my arrival, he and his brother, Woldi Michael, gave me a fat cow each.

November 1st. I left the camp very early, and travelled very slowly with my cows. In the course of the day I rested a little and took some refreshment, while my cows, which were very fat, grazed or lay down under the shade of the trees. After dark I came to a village, called Narder, where the only acquaintances I had were absent, and I found no friends. Next morning I set out at daylight, travelling as the preceding day, and at dark reached the small village of the Zellans, who treated me with the same hospitality as before. Next morning I set out before daylight, and travelling as on the former days, reached Houstá, a large town, belonging to the sons of Nebriáram, where I was well lodged and provided for the night. Next day I set out early, and in about three hours passed Axum to my left; my cows being very lazy, I did not reach Adowa this day



as I expected, but lodged at a friend's house at Bate Yohannes Almerder, and next morning went to Adowa, leaving my cows, till I should want them, with one of my old servants, Aubbart. In the evening I went to see my friend Bashaw Abdalla, whom I found in much the same situation as when I left him, except that he appeared weaker and his eyes had grown very dim. He told me that he felt no pain, but that his weakness was through old age—the first Abyssinian I ever knew to confess himself to be old. It grieved me much to see him so severe towards his eldest son, Agge Sardoc, in making his last will. He declared to the people, who were appointed to be witnesses, that he left all he possessed in the world to his youngest son Mohammed, begotten of Ozoro Caffi Galla, and that Mohammed might have the care of his sisters and other younger relations. This he said in the presence of Sardoc, who cried bitterly, and said only, “God comfort the soul of my aged father! I am young, and want nothing.” He also shewed no affection to his second son Zanu, because he paid no attention to him during the time of his imprisonment, but, on the contrary, made away with his father's property in an extravagant manner, in place of applying it to his release.

November 10th. All the townspeople were



formed into large parties, and had posted themselves in different parts of the outskirts of the town, each party crying out by turns *Isge Marro Christos!* [Forgive us, oh Lord Christ!]. This alarm and uproar was created among the poor weak-minded people through the dream of a woman, who is a great poetess and a professed interpreter of dreams. She told the populace that she had dreamed, for three following nights, that four great chiefs came near to the town and encamped, naming them, and the different situations they were encamped on; namely Subegadis, with his army, at Kudus Michael; the Gas Woldi Raphael, with his army at Kudus Gabriel; the Ras Guebra Michael at Mariam; the Gas Ischias at Kudus Gorgis. She continued to dream that each of these chiefs killed more than one hundred cows at a time, and gave their soldiers as much as they chose to drink for three days. She said the interpretation was, that these cows were great people of that town who were to die in a battle that was to last three days; and, unless the whole of the population, great and small, made a cry unto God for three successive days, nothing could prevent such a dreadful destruction in their capital.

During this month Ito Barrier returned the *negaret* [the drums] of the late Ras to the



Gas Woldi Raphael, from whom he had captured them; and he also released the Gas Ischias out of prison from the mountain Arrara. The Gas Ischias had also begun to recruit, and the sons of Nebrid Aram had joined him.

Bashaw Abdalla, who died yesterday evening, was buried this morning, and, after the people had done making their supplication, as before mentioned, numbers attended the ceremony and cry over his remains. He had been very charitable to the poor, both Christians and Mahomedans, but the *negadi*, or merchants, had but little respect for him, being a strict and just man in his office of head custom-house officer. To-day there were also some priests, belonging to the monastery Abba Garimur, brought before the justice of the town, under Guebra Amlac, for having been found selling four boys and a girl to the *cofla* going to Massowa; these infamous wretches got off with a little bribery. The priests of Axum and Deverer Damo, as well as Abba Garimur, are frequently known to be guilty of such inhuman acts; but they are in general rich enough to get off by bribery, when detected by the children's parents and brought before a justice.

Adowa remained pretty quiet, on account of its being a capital, which is in time of peace



resorted to by every chief who has premises therein.

Antàlo, in like manner, as well as Gondar, Socotta, and other capitals of provinces, are never troubled, let the war be ever so fierce, except it be by a foreign power, such as the Galla or the Taltal. Nothing was heard of at this time but districts fighting against districts in all parts of the country. The town of Adowa was swarming with beggars, whose fathers or husbands had been killed and their habitations burned.

November 19th. On my return from fishing, where I had been the greater part of the night, I heard several bands of trumpeters and drummers at a distance, and was soon informed that the Gas Ischias was coming into the town. His army soon appeared from between the mountains, on the Abba Garimur road. The people were much alarmed at his coming so suddenly, and numbers began to fly with their property to the Abuna's premises. Instead of going home, I advanced to meet him; his army did not exceed five thousand, and they were chiefly the soldiers of Nebrid Aram. When he entered the town, he did not take possession of the Ras's premises, but occupied his own old house. He very severely rebuked the people who had fled to the Abuna saying "They could not be my friends,



or they would not have had a bad opinion of me." Adowa was once plundered in the time of Gas Woldi Gabriel, by Ito Levassey of Shagney; but his family have borne the disgrace ever since, and they are at present reduced to the lower class. The Gas Ischias had merely come to Adowa to receive the duties of the customs of the *coflas*, from the sons of Bashaw Abdalla, who had been placed in the office by the order of the Gas Guebra Michael, and to accompany the Abuna to Axum. On the next day, in the evening, I received a box from Mr. Salt, with several medicines and other articles, some money and another supply of Psalters. I was very lucky, for part of the *cofla* had been robbed at Logo.

November 20th. The Abuna left his premises for Axum, and the Gas Ischias with him; several of the towns-people also set out with the Abuna. I had made preparations to start with my wife, neighbours, and friends, at midnight; at which time we accordingly set out, and at daylight we were at the camp of the Gas Ischias, where the Abuna had encamped during the night. Nobody was allowed to pass, till the Abuna had mounted his mule, and set out in the front of the multitude. The Gas Ischias sent his horsemen to ride in the front of the Abuna, which seemed to



please him, while the Gas rode a long way in his rear, with the rest of his army, and the inhabitants of Adowa and other villages lying in that direction. The plain about Axum was crowded with people from all parts of Abyssinia, even from Shoa; there were thousands—this being the yearly holyday Sean-er-Mariam, when all Abyssinia comes on a pilgrimage to Axum. Though well acquainted with every body in Axum, I could scarcely get a lodging from not having given notice of my coming.

The king, Tecla Gorgis, received the Abuna at the church-gate: after the latter had given the king some reprimands for his former conduct, the king took an oath to follow the Copti religion, before which he had been of the Greek. When the service of the church was over, which is performed by the priests, dressed in their ornaments of gold and silver, velvets and silks, with crowns of silver and gold on their heads, all walk in procession, with music, three times round the church, after which the sacrament is administered to those who choose to receive it. The Abuna issued an order to the multitude, that those who did not follow the Copti religion were excommunicated and cursed. As soon as we had seen what we purposely went for, and my wife had given some wax to the church, we returned to



Adowa, where we arrived about ten o'clock at night. Just as we arrived, we heard loud cheering at the house of a neighbour, who had sent some candles to the church by my wife; it being her time of lying-in, and consequently she could not attend herself. We counted the cheers, which were twelve, proclaiming the birth of a male child, a female only having seven. It is a custom among the Abyssinians for the women, who are present, to cheer when a child comes into life.

My wife brought home some *suvel*, a mixture of the clay, or earth, of the church-yard before mentioned in my narrative; and it gave the poor lying-in woman great comfort to see the cross, with this *suvel*, put on her infant's forehead.

While at Axum I distributed several books to the priests of different churches; I gave two, in handsome binding, to the king and his wife, Ozoro Cottser. Several of our neighbours did not return from Axum for seven days afterwards, superstitious customs having caused them to remain for that time. It is common in Abyssinia, in several cases, especially when a woman is barren, or a young girl is desirous of having a child, to prepare certain articles, such as wax, candles, bread or *sowa*, against any yearly



holyday. If for a child, they in general pray to the Blessed Virgin on her holyday; though numbers go to different churches, and at different and great distances. Every day, when they attend, they offer some present to the priest, who gives them a small bell to hold in their hands, and they stand in one posture, saying a prayer over and over again, for several hours, till they are entirely fatigued. This they do for several days successively. If Providence should bestow upon them a child within a year or two afterwards, they call it after the saint to whom they had petitioned.

The Abuna still continued his disputes with Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, and excommunicated the priests of Kudus Gorgis Moi Gogua, and ordered the house of the high-priest Kushe Aftus to be burnt, and his lands and cattle taken from him.



## CHAPTER XVI.

Pearce goes by invitation to the camp of the Gas Ischias—He proceeds to Axum—The Temben army attacks the Gas—Perilous situation of Pearce—Rout of the Gas's troops—Inquiry of the King concerning books sent from England—Operations of the Gas Guebra Michael—Efforts of the Abuna to prevent a Battle—Pearce is sent on a pacific mission to Subegadis—Death of the King Itsa Tecla Gorgis—Pacification of the Chiefs—Festival of Tumkut—Defeat of Hostile Chiefs by Guebra Michael's brother Safu—A Foundling brought up by Pearce claimed by his Mother—Renewal of hostilities between Guebra Michael and Ischias—Movements of Chiefs—Pearce goes to Axum—Giddam of Deverer Abba—Wooden Bell—Intemperance of Priests—Environs of Deverer Abba—Halt in the Wilderness—Rapacity of Hyenas—Ito Levassey—Jedarro—Timbilla—Pearce returns to Adowa—He goes to the camp of the Gas Guebra Michael—Buckerha.

**DECEMBER 1st.** On returning from fishing with Berberrer, the morning being very cold we had met with little success, I found at my house a servant of the Gas Ischias, who informed me that his master had sent him to call me, and that I was to be, by the day after the morrow, at Zonze, where the Gas was to encamp. I at first thought of making an excuse, by saying I was unwell, but, as the servant had seen me return from fishing on so cold a morning, I could assign no such excuse, but promised to be there, as he



had ordered. After writing some letters, to send off to Egypt by the *cofla*, I prepared some provisions for myself and servants, and set out on the evening of the third of December. I lodged for the night at an acquaintance's house in Longuamte, and next morning set out and arrived about ten o'clock in the camp at Zonze. I heard on the road that the Temben army was encamped at Abba Sarnaer, about eight miles only from the Gas Ischias's camp. When I entered the tent of the Gas, he told me that the king had sent a servant from Axum to call me, and that I must go to Axum. After eating and drinking, as is customary with the Gas Ischias, it was late in the evening, so we agreed to start, after taking a little rest.

About cock-crow my servant saddled my mule, and we set off: not a servant was then stirring in the camp, and there was no suspicion of anything unusual happening. At day-break, as I was just opposite to the mountain Damot, while discoursing with the king's servant and my own concerning the Temben army and the Gas Ischias's, which would beat, &c., we all of a sudden heard, and then saw behind us, the Gas Ischias and his horsemen; before this we thought we had heard a firing of muskets; which had occasioned our discourse. They were at full speed, in the great-



est confusion, his soldiers a long way in the rear, running in complete disorder, and the Tembens cutting them up in the rear. The king's and my servants saw it was time to run off, but I, not being able to make my escape on foot, began flogging my old mule to get him to gallop, but to no purpose, he being too old and I too weak to effect an escape. I would have given the world for a horse at the moment. I said to myself, knowing the Abyssinian soldiers spare none they come up with at such a critical moment: "This day I am sure to die, but if possible not without revenge." So I turned my mule's head round towards the horsemen then coming up, cocked my pistol, and pointed it towards him who, I thought, would first approach me, and determined not to fire before I was sure of doing execution. Shum Temben Keros, son of the Gas Guebra Michael, seeing me ready to fire, cried out, "Pearce, don't fire, no one shall hurt you." I immediately put my pistol to a half-cock, and glad enough I was at my escape. He left a gunner in charge of me, that no one might mistake and hurt me. Shortly after the Gas Guebra Michael came up; he, being my oldest friend in Abyssinia, could not help stopping to have a laugh at me; and after saying, "It is well God has brought you out safe," he ordered me to mount my mule



and follow him ; but the gunner said he would take my mule, as a recompense for having taken care of me, otherwise he could have come up and killed some of the Gas Ischias's soldiers. This aggravated the Gas so much, that he ordered him to be well beaten and his matchlock taken from him.

The Tembens chased and cut up the Gas Ischias's army as far as Segamé, about ten miles from Damot. The Gas Guebra Michael encamped at Moi Agenzean, and he sent some soldiers to see me safe into Axum. The king's messengers, who had been sent to the Gas Ischias's camp, were killed, but my servants had made their escape into Axum. On the following morning the king called me, and I found him seated upon the church terrace, surrounded by a great number of monks and priests of high rank, from Wal-dubba, Gondar, &c. He said, "I sent for you to inquire for what purpose the books you have distributed in the country were sent hither." After I had given him appropriate answers, he asked me if Mr. Salt had made known to the king of my country how scarce books were in Abyssinia. An order was then given to Dofter Esther to write a letter to England, and to state the faults they found in those books, but at the same time to give their thanks. This inquiry had been occasioned



by a Greek, who had told the Echigge in Gondar that the English began in this manner to get possession of India and the other colonies, first by sending presents and coaxing by degrees, till, getting a firm footing in the country, they took it altogether.

Before I left Axum for Adowa, the Gas Guebra Michael had burned the towns of Houst, Segamé, and all the villages about that part of the country. Subegadis had, at the same time, burnt Arsi, Gundufta, and all the territories of Fitaurari Guebra Amlac.

Ozoro Wolleta Raphael had escaped from Arsi, and had placed herself under the Abuna's protection, while the Gas Guebra Michael was plundering and burning the country of Agut Adite. The Gas Ischias and the sons of Nebrid Aram made a turn round by the river Warie, and joined Subegadis, upon which Guebra Michael set fire to all the corn-stacks and marched back towards Adowa. Subegadis and the Gas Ischias took a strong position and encamped at Treet near Honhili.

December 8th. A large *cofla* arrived from Walkayt, the road being safe since the death of Dimsu. The Gas Ackly Marro's servants arrived, with the *messerach* (tidings) to the king, of the Gas their master's having defeated the



rebel army and taken prisoner Ito Woldi Raphael, son-in-law to the Ras Guxo.

As the Temben army advanced to give battle to the combined armies of Subegadis and the Gas Ischias, the Abuna sent all the priests of the country, with a great number of monks, to prevent a battle taking place, by *guzzart*. The Abuna first sent them to Gas Guebra Michael, telling him, that it was his desire that every chief should return to his own country, till it should please God to appoint a ruler over them. "You are," said he, "butchering my poor children, and those who escape the spear are left with their young ones to starve with hunger. I now tell you," continued he, "that I *guzzart* all from the Christian religion, if my orders be not obeyed." The Gas Guebra Michael replied that he was willing to come to terms with Subegadis, and would, if the Abuna pleased, wait till he had sent to Subegadis on the subject. Accordingly, it was agreed by the Abuna to send a party of priests to Subegadis, and me with them, as messengers on the part of Guebra Michael. The cross, which the Abuna generally held in his hand, was to be carried by a priest of the company of monks from Waldubba. We started in the evening, by moonlight, and about midnight we came to the camp of Subegadis at Treet, and it happened that he



was not asleep. As soon as his guards told him of our arrival, he ordered me into the tent alone, and kept the priests waiting without, till I had not only delivered my message, but eaten and drunk ; after which the priests were ordered in. He rose from his couch, through respect for the Abuna's cross, and, after the priests had said every thing they had to say, which lasted till daylight, Subegadis broke silence and said, " Tell the Abuna I will not consent to be under Guebra Michael ; but if he will consent to be under me, I will give him what I like of the country ; and I have no more to say, though Guebra Michael may have ten to one against me." At this very moment the Temben army had more than one thousand five hundred muskets, twenty thousand horse and foot spear-men, and thirty-two chiefs with tents\* ; while Subegadis had not more than one hundred muskets and eight thousand spear-men, and no horse whatever, except thirty or forty belonging to the sons of Nebriid Aram.

When it was well daylight we left the camp, and about twelve o'clock we returned to the camp of Gas Guebra Michael, and were greatly alarmed to find the whole camp, or army, seated in front of the Gas's tent, crying. On inquiry

\* None of the Abyssinians have tents, but chiefs of great power.



we learned that the king, Itsa Tecla Gorgis, had died suddenly. After the cry, the concourse of people dispersed, and the priests had a private audience of the Gas, after which I had the same and delivered my message.

The soldiers were continually teasing my servants to give them an account of Subegadis and his army, as if in great dread of him. The king, Itsa Tecla Gorgis, had died suddenly after returning from church. The report among his servants was, that he complained of a swelling in his thigh, which pained him, and he sent for some butter, to one of his wives, who immediately sent it, and it was rubbed into his thigh; after which he complained of the head-ache and soon expired. His age was sixty-six; he was buried in the church-yard of Mariam Sean, at Axum, on the 12th of December, 1817, being a great holy-day for Kudus Michael, Kudus Fasilidus-oun-er-Samuel, and Kudus Sallabella, on which account great ceremony was used over his grave. He was buried without a coffin, the times being so disturbed, that people could not be procured to cut down a tree to make him one, nor had the house he lived in any better than cane doors; so that a coffin could not be procured. The priests would not allow his body to be buried in the place in which the ancient kings were interred,



on account of his having, since his oath to the Abuna, on the 21st of the last month, denied the Coptic religion, and died in the Greek faith.

For several days the Abuna kept the priests and monks going backward and forward between the two armies. After some persuasion, the chiefs, who were afraid of the Abuna's *guzzart*, agreed that Temben should return to Adowa from Mariam Shourrite; that Subegadis should leave Treet, and return to his country, Agamé; and that the Gas Ischias should retire to Nardic, or Arderserat. Still, the petty chiefs, in the country, were continually making depredations on their neighbours; so that nobody could travel with safety. At times we had no market at all, and at others every thing was to be had very cheap from the plunderers.

January 11th, 1818. The Gas Guebra Michael having left these parts, and marched to Temben, there were scarcely any men to be seen among the multitude of women and children who went to accompany the different altars of the churches to the market-place, on the side of the river Assem. Formerly, on this great day, called Tumkut, or baptism-day, every chief, with all his forces, attended the ceremony; but at this time numbers of the females of high rank,



who used to have the sacred water taken to their houses, to bathe themselves in private, were seen bathing among the lower class, in the river.

About this period Shum Temben Sarlie and Shum Temben Bimut, both very great men, deserted, with their troops, from the Gas Guebra Michael; and, raising a strong army, took possession of the Kolla district of Temben. Guebra Michael could not march against them, having found out that they had private communication with Subegadis; and the scheme was, that they should draw Guebra into the Kolla country, while Subegadis invaded the higher country. This for some time put Guebra Michael in perplexity, till his brother Safu, with half the army, marched against Sarlie and Bimut. In the first battle Safu rather lost ground, but, taking a good position on a mountain, he remained safe till night; when he divided his troops into three divisions, and, in three different directions fell upon the enemy's camp unawares, and threw them into such confusion that they were easily put to the rout, leaving their horses, provisions, &c.; Bimut being taken prisoner. This action pleased Guebra Michael so much, that he gave his brother, Safu, the whole of the Temben Kolla.

January 14th. A young boy, who had been



dropped at my door in June last, in a dark and rainy night, was owned by his mother; but I would not deliver him up, till I had taken her before the *shummergeildas* of the town. The woman said, her husband, the boy's father, was killed in the battle between Subegadis and Ischias. She lived at Mumsa, and, through distress, had put the boy down at my door, and watched at a distance till he was taken into the house. She then went to another woman, and told her of her success, which woman she had now brought as a witness that the child was her's. She then went home to Mumsa, which is not more than five miles from Adowa, and there remained till the present time, when, having married another man and put her habitation to rights, and prospered a little this last harvest, she found herself able to provide for her child. She had three more children, but older than the one in question. The *shummergeildas* said, that it depended upon my feelings, for, if I chose to keep the child, no one could hinder me, till I had been paid what I thought proper to charge for its maintenance from the time I had taken it into my habitation. She had adandoned it, they said, to the mercy of the hyænas, from whose jaws I had delivered it. She however fell at my feet and begged me to return it, declaring that she would ever pray for me; so



I gave up the boy, who had been so fond of me, that he cried more at parting from me than he did for the first few days after he had been abandoned by his mother. He was between four and five years of age. During the last rains, several children were dropped at the doors of respectable people in this town, in the same manner; some have not as yet been owned, and some have been stolen away from the doors, as it is supposed by the parents.

The Gas Guebra Michael again came to Axum, with intent to give battle to the Gas Ischias, who had become very powerful, and plundered and burnt several villages of his allies; but, upon Guebra Michael's approach, Ischias marched to Amba Darro, a famous strong mountain, where the Gas Woldi Raphael, son of Ras Michael, defeated the rebels under the command of Blitin-gatore Takly, who had surrounded him while encamped on this mountain. Here the Gas Michael did not think it prudent to follow Ischias, but began to burn the towns and villages of those who had joined him. He first set fire to the town of Grizla, not many miles from Axum, and then marched to Barrerquor and Madroy, destroying all before him.

Subegadis was obliged to return to Mockkiddo, the capital of Agamé, on account of his brother



Sardie having been released from chains by Ito Barrier, and having raised a strong army of Agamé people to rebel against Subegadis, who soon took him prisoner, and sent him to a mountain in the Taltal country. During this month, the Gas Ackly Marro, who still remained in Agow Mudda, sent Ito Woldi Raphael in chains to the Island Carretta Wolletta in the Lake Tzana. Guxo also, having again quarrelled with Ras Ilo, had marched into his country, and besieged the mountain Teblas Terre, or Ras Terre, whither Ras Ilo had fled to defend himself. The Gas Woldi Raphael went down to Arro and brought up a caravan of salt, which greatly helped to recruit and strengthen his army.

January 23rd. The Gas Guebra Michael came to Moi Arrasart, about ten miles from Adowa, and next day I went to the camp, and he behaved very kindly to me, and made me take up my abode in a small tent which joined his own, and was designed chiefly for his lady, though no one was with him at that time. I went to him, very early in the morning, and told him that, as the Shiré districts were on good terms with him, I wished to go to Deverer Abba, to give some books to the monastery of Oun er Samuel. He told me to stop till I had eaten, and then I might start, and as Axum was near I could lodge there for the



night. A little past twelve I set out from the camp, and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I arrived at Axum. There I lodged with an old friend, and remained the whole night and the next day.

January 27th. I left Axum about seven o'clock in the morning, and at midday arrived at Belles, a small village, where the *coflas* in general stop on their way to and from Walkayt or Gondar. Here we remained, with some cotton merchants, till the next day, when I set off before the merchants, and, though the road was very bad the whole way, I reached Dembargunna long before sunset. Here I found an old acquaintance, who killed a goat and gave plenty of maize, so that we did not go to sleep till very late.

Next day my friend would not let me depart till I had taken my breakfast. I left Dembargunna at ten o'clock, and about two in the afternoon arrived at the premises of Ito Hannes Timbilla; who, though he had been beaten by Ito Gabri Selassé, a neighbour, some time back, still kept a good table, and gave me a hearty welcome.

Next day I left Timbilla at eight o'clock in the morning, and at eleven reached Deverer Abba. I went to the house of the high-priest, an old man, who had succeeded Allica Wollicus, the late



high-priest of this *giddam*, both of whom had been my acquaintances in Enderta : he received me very kindly, thinking I had only come on a visit, I having, in the time of the late Ras, often given him a lodging in my house at Chelicut, when he had come upon business to the Ras's court. He ordered an old priest to bring water to wash my feet, no female whatever being allowed within the walls of this sacred place ; though a small town close by is well peopled with both sexes. He ordered my mule to be unsaddled and tied in his own house, with his mules ; and soon after I shewed him the books, and told him I had distributed some to the different churches about Adowa, and sent some to Gondar. He immediately called some of the elders of the *giddam*, and, after they had looked over the books, they gave thanks to the king of my country, in whose name I had given them, though they found the same faults as had been mentioned by others. The priests afterwards gave me a goat, and a great number of them sent me some maize.

The priests in all parts of Abyssinia are great drinkers, but here I witnessed more than I had before seen ; the whole time, while sitting at table, one or the other kept repeating, according to the usual custom in all parts of Abyssinia, "Eat and drink, by my death," while they keep



cramming you with what they call *fidfids*, large lumps of different kinds of victuals, mixed up with the hand into a mash. The priests of this *giddam* keep a great many gunners, with matchlocks of a very large size, not only on account of the Shangalla, who are apt to commit depredations on their flocks, but also to kill the elephants, which are numerous about the neighbouring wilds to the north of them.

I went with one of the Allica's gunners, the next day, February 1st., to the Tacazzé, which we crossed to the Waldubba side; but, although the *giddam* of Deverer Abba is near that river, the bad winding roads, or paths, down the mountain, make it full three hours' journey. After looking for a hippopotamus out of the water, we began to return unsuccessful; but, as we approached home, near sun-set, the gunner shot a large deer. Before our boys had skinned it, it was quite dark, and the Allica had sent people in search of us. We carried the hind-quarters and shoulders home, and I took the horns also, as they are not only curiously notched, but make good powder and salt horns.

Next day the Chellica took me to the *karbet*, or treasury of the *giddam*, and shewed me all its riches, such as crowns of silver and gold, &c., &c. We shortly after returned to a feast given



by one of the elders of the church ; but, before I went into the *dass*, where the feast was prepared, I was curious enough to stand looking at a wooden bell, at the church gateway, the first I had seen of the kind in Abyssinia. Three large pieces of wood are slung at a little distance from each other, so that, when shaken with a rope, they strike against each other and make a very peculiar sound, but nothing like a bell : what kind of wood it is, or whether hollow or not, I had not time to learn, being hurried to the feast. Though I have described the common church bell, in all parts of Abyssinia, as a long narrow stone, slung either between two trees or poles, and struck with another stone, yet they have numerous small hand-bells, which they make in the country.

February 3rd. Adelcardu, a Mahomedan, who had been bartering with the priests, and was going direct to Massowa, gave me an opportunity of sending a letter by him, to be forwarded to Mr. Salt, by way of Jidda, giving him an account of the Bible Society books. This *negade* took from the priests, in exchange for four pieces of coloured silk and a small Persian carpet, twenty two elephants' teeth. Eight of these were of the largest size and fourteen of the middle and smaller size. The *negade* also made a present to the *giddam* of some frankincense, and a little black pepper to each of the great priests.



Next day I wished to depart, but the Allica insisted upon my waiting till the morrow. To pass away the time, I rode on my mule, with the gunner I had before been with, into the heart of the *barakei* [wilderness] lying between the *giddam* and the *Tacazzé*. We found the remains of an *aggerzeen*, which apparently had been devoured by a lion in the night, or not long before, as we saw the tracks in the sand. Lions are very numerous in this part; we nevertheless saw many kinds of deer and hogs; the gunner fired twice at them and missed: I also fired a number of times and always missed; indeed my powder was so bad that I was obliged to fire with a match. The gunner at last killed a hog, which was fatter than they in general are; this made me turn to and work to help the boy to skin some of the hind parts, to cut up into steaks. We made a large fire and broiled them, and ate our fill, except the gunner, who would not eat with us. But, while we were busy, he killed a deer, called *tailhe-buddu*, and came with some of its flesh to broil also; but superstition caused him to make another fire. As I had a horn of maize with me, we sat very comfortably till nearly sunset, when we returned home, leaving our hog's flesh for the wild beasts, not daring to take any into the *giddam*; but the gunner



gave me the hind-quarters of his deer to carry home.

Next day I told the Allica I wanted to go by the way of Jedaro, to see my friend Ito Levassey, whose leg Mr. Smith had cured, at the request of Mr. Salt, at my house at Chelicut, in 1810. He had been shot in the leg, in the service of the Ras, who was remarkably fond of him, and begged Mr. Salt to let the *hakim* look at his leg. Mr. Smith extracted some bone from it and cured him, and ever since he has had great respect for me. The Allica gave me a bushel and a half of honey, and an ass to carry it, a sheep to kill on the road, and a man to return with the ass.

I set out with intent to reach Jedaro before dark, as it was at a great distance, and no place to stop at, the whole way being nothing but a wilderness, the resort of elephants and other wild beasts; however, the ass and sheep becoming tired, we were obliged to halt, not much more than half-way, when it was nearly evening: it was therefore agreed that we should pick out the best place and wait till next day. Before dark we had cut some boughs and bushes and made a kind of fence; we drove a stake into the ground and tied the ass, the mule, and the sheep, close to our feet; after which we made a good fire and



broiled some *quanter* which we had, and after eating lay down to sleep, but were prevented by a number of hyænas prowling about us in all directions. They leaped over our small fence, and seized the ass by the hind parts, as they generally do. I fired and hit one, which strove to get off, but dropped close by. Before I could load and fire again, with my bad powder, they dragged the poor ass away, and, although my servants speared several, they still came on thicker and thicker. - While we were following them up, endeavouring to rescue the poor ass from them, a leopard carried off the sheep; this animal so frightened my mule, that it broke the *lukko* [straps] which tied it, but very luckily ran towards us and was soon caught. The hyænas at last became so numerous in all quarters, that we were obliged to get on the side of an old darro tree that had fallen down some years before; I kept firing, but my powder was so bad that it was impossible to do any execution, unless the enemy were within two or three yards of me, for I was obliged to fire with a match. The honey remained where we first intended to lodge, with my bag and our skins, or beds. I got a little sleep on the side of the tree, but the heavy dew wetted us as much as if we had been drenched with rain.

Very early in the morning we descended from



our roost, saddled my mule, and the honey, being in two different skins, it was easily carried by the Allica's man and one of mine. A little after midday we reached Jedaro, and learned that my friend was at home. I immediately went to his house, and the moment he heard of my arrival he ordered me in. This was a great sign of his regard, for the Abyssinians, let them be on ever so intimate terms of friendship, always keep a visiter waiting at the door, often for hours together. This is not only to show their dignity in their own premises, but also to give the wife, or cook, time to have things prepared for the visiter; when the master always makes an excuse for having kept them waiting so long, by saying he had been asleep, or had taken physic, &c. When an Abyssinian goes to sleep, and previously gives orders to his servant to awake him, in case any thing should happen, the servant, in order to arouse him, puts his hand under the cloth that covers his master or mistress, and begins rubbing the feet and pulling the toes; this is the common custom. To call them by name, or shake the body, would be a misdemeanour that would bring punishment upon them.

Ito Levassey received me with all the obliging words he could express, mixed with a little flattery, for which every Abyssinian is remarkable.



He gave me every thing I could wish for in this country to eat and drink, and, though apparently much concerned at the loss of the Allica's ass, and my night's fight with the *gibs*, [hyænas] he could not help laughing very heartily at times. Next morning, on my taking leave, he begged I would stay some days with him, but I told him I had promised my wife and neighbours to be back by market-day, and the times being so bad they might doubt my safety in case I remained longer. However he prevailed on me to stop that day. He gave me a large gelded goat, which they call *mugcut* in Amhara, and *tor* in Tigré, and lent me an ass to carry my honey to Adowa.

February the 8th. I set out from Jedaro, and never stopped but to give my mule water, till sunset, although the roads over the mountain were very bad. I reached Timbilla, which is a large town, but not so large as Jedaro. Here I found no acquaintance, though lodging and victuals were given, as is customary to all travellers, in time of peace, in the country.

Next morning I set out before daylight, and about mid-day came to Arkar, in Shiré; this being a noted place for robbers, we did not think fit to stop for the night, though the ass and goat were nearly knocked up. After they had taken a little rest, among some fine grass, I again set



out, and arrived at sunset at Grizla, the town near Axum burned by the Gas Guebra Michael. Here I found an old servant of mine, who, though his house had been burned and all he had plundered and taken away, did all he could to make me comfortable. In the morning I set out very early, and my old servant, Tusfu, followed me as far as Axum, after which he returned. I did not stop at Axum, but kept on for Adowa, where I arrived about four in the afternoon, having travelled very slowly on account of the ass and goat. Next day I dismissed the Allica's man, begging he would satisfy his master as to the manner in which the ass had been devoured, in spite of all our efforts.

February 13th. I left Adowa, to go to the Gas Guebra Michael, who had promised me some provisions on my return from Deverer Abba. He was then encamped in Subegadis's old situation, at Treet. Next day I marched with the camp to Ongar, where the Gas encamped on the mountain Damba. Here I took leave of the Gas, who had given me an order for ten *interlams* of corn, equal to eighty bushels, and a boy was sent to me, to carry the order to the *aristie*. In the evening we arrived at a village called Adequorro, where I went to see an old acquaintance, of the name of Buckkerha, whom I found lying in a miserable state: in the last battle with Subegadis



he had received two very severe wounds, and indeed they were in such a state of putrefaction that I could not bear to sit near him, though in the time of the Ras we were on terms of the closest friendship. He ordered his wife to give me whatever his house could afford, and I was well lodged in a small hut.

Next day I blessed my poor old companion, and, according to the custom of the country, exclaimed "God send down pardon to him!" I left Aderquorro, and in about an hour and a half arrived at Abba Garimur, where I went to pay my devotions at the church: on so doing I was invited by a priest, an old acquaintance, named Abba Woldi, to take some victuals and maize, and he was not willing to let me quit him till both of us were well filled; however, I at last got away, leaving the poor old man dead drunk on his couch, his son being present to take care of him. After I left Abba Garimur I arrived at my house in Adowa in about three quarters of an hour.



## CHAPTER XVII.

Proceedings of the Gas Ischias—Rescue of Pearce by the Gas at Moi Delarta—He joins the army of the Gas—Is obliged by fever to return home—Entry of Guebra Michael into Adowa—Chiefs named after Horses—Attendants—Attentions paid to the Sick—Contagious Disease attributed to Snakes—Revenue of the Abuna—Movements of Guebra Michael—Mode of manufacturing Iron.

THE Gas Ischias had again begun his old tricks, and had burned a village belonging to the Gas Ischias, father of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, and was encamped at Moi Delarta. Thence, according to his old custom, he sent to call the sons of Bashaw Abdalla, ordering them to bring the duties of the custom-house, which had not long before been paid to Gas Guebra Michael; however, threats caused them to take him cloths, &c. to the amount that he demanded of them. The younger brother, Mahomed, being on slight terms of friendship with me, begged I would go with him, and endeavour to persuade the Gas to reasonable demands; I consented, and, it being but a little distance, we went at midnight, the best and most common hour for a private audience with the chiefs of Abyssinia. However, on going



to his tent, we were informed that he was asleep. We went to the tent of Blitingatore Woldi Gorgis, whom we found asleep also; none in the camp were stirring, but the guards sitting over the fires.

I was determined to return, to avoid being seen by the people of Moi Delarta, on account of one Woldi Gorgis, the son of a Greek called Apostella, who had killed a man belonging to this place, after getting intoxicated together, and they had sworn to have the blood of some white man in revenge, imagining all white people to be relations. Accordingly, I left the camp when it was quite dark, but the people of the village just by had been informed of my being in the camp, where numbers of the relatives of the deceased were. I had four shieldsmen and one gun, and a pistol in my hand, with some good cartridges that I had made the preceding morning. We had not got two hundred yards from the camp when about fifty came running after us. I got off my mule as quickly as possible, and began to fire about their heads, and, having crossed a small rivulet with a steep bank, I had time to load and fire five times before they attempted to descend the bank, by which time the report of the gun had brought the whole camp in great confusion to the spot, supposing it to be the Temben army



coming upon them in the night, as formerly. Even the Gas himself had mounted his horse at the alarm. Fortunately the people who came up first were many of them my old acquaintances, and they asked me the reason of my firing. I told them, and pointed out the gang who had come after me without provocation. They were immediately seized by Ito Sunno and his soldiers, who took both them and me to the Gas, and he made them leave a bondsman in the camp to answer for their presence at day-light; and sent Ito Sunno to see me safe over the river Assem.

At sunrise I returned to the camp; the Gas was just going to eat, and he ordered me to sit close by him; during meal time he crammed my mouth frequently with *fidfids*, large lumps of victuals before mentioned; and, after the table was removed, he called the people of Almader and Moi Delarta, and said, "This man is no more related to Apostella than I am. Because he is a white man do you imagine him to be related? I know," continued he, "for certain, that he does not even understand Apostella's language, nor Apostella his; and, in case any thing happens to him while I have power, I shall consider him murdered, and will seek revenge for his sake." The people of Almader, which is the name of the district, said, since they knew the



truth they would not offer to molest me, and would tell the same to the whole of the district whom it concerned, after which they were dismissed.

The Gas Ischias began to order the maize to be handed to me very briskly, often forcing the *bruly* to my mouth with his hand, and at last he began to question me about my remaining always in town, and why I did not go to war like a man, as I did in the time of the Ras. I told him that my disease had reduced my constitution to such a degree that I could not only not go on foot, but was unable to bear any fatigue whatever either in heat or cold, I having become too weak to encounter either. However, he kept me drinking, and very frequently pronounced tempting words, and at last said, he thought I was afraid. In this manner, he induced me at length to say, "I go, by the death of Ischias!" a very binding oath in their estimation. After the tent was cleared, and the Gas gone to sleep, I went home, reflecting on the oath I had been tempted to take, and, knowing the weakness of my constitution, I began to be a little uneasy in my mind; however, I said to myself, "The thing is done, and it is better to try my fortune than lose my good name. Who knows but Providence may strengthen me!" Accordingly, I told my wife, on my arrival, to get



every thing ready for my provisions, and that I had sworn to go with the Gas Ischias to the wars. With this she, instead of ordering the girls to grind corn, &c. began to cry, and call in a number of women, our neighbours, who kept such a bellowing, that I was forced to be rough and make the girls turn-to, and also grind myself. During the night, my flour and other provisions were got ready, nor were my servants in the least unwilling to follow me; only they said, they thought I could not endure the fatigue of a camp.

February 21st. I joined in the march with the Gas Ischias's army, which did not consist of more than five thousand men, and they in general could not be depended upon to march in the rear of an army of more than twenty thousand. The Gas Guebra Michael had entered the country of Subegadis; the plan was that Subegadis should draw the Temben army as far as he could into his territories, while the Gas Ischias came in his rear. The first night we encamped at a village called Arder Darro; next day we marched to a district called Darrerker, where we were joined by the sons of the late Fit-aurari Zogo, a brave chief, in the time of the Ras, spoken of in Mr. Salt's Travels. He left behind him the two brave sons just mentioned, but they were of a wavering disposition, and indeed false.



After burning some districts belonging to the allies of Temben, we marched to Dambarra, where we encamped among the burned tents of the Temben army. I have before observed, that it is customary, in all parts of Abyssinia, to set fire to the camp after quitting it, if in an enemy's district, but not in a friendly one. In the night there came on a very heavy shower of rain and hail, which is not common in this month, and which did much hurt, not only to ourselves, but to the cattle. Not a dry rag was to be found, nor could we kindle a fire as the hail lay thick on the ground.

A little after sunrise I was taken very ill with a fever, which I thought would have killed me. The Gas Ischias, seeing me in this state, was sorry he had prevailed upon me to come, and ordered some grass and wood cutters to carry me to Adowa; but I, with the assistance of two men, one on each side, made shift to ride my mule, and I reached Adequorro, where I was put into a snug hut. In the morning my fever came on very violently, so that I could not start early; but after my own cloth and skin, and those of my servants, had been thrown over me, and I had drunk a deal of cold water, I began to sweat till the skin I lay on was like a puddle of water. Finding myself uncomfortable with the water on



the skin, I had it taken from under me and another put in its place, when, in about half an hour, I found myself much better, and was anxious to be on my road.

About ten o'clock I set out, riding as yesterday, but did not reach home till near dark: both my wife and neighbours were delighted to see me return, though much concerned for my illness; however I found myself much better, and had a little appetite. Tringo, my wife, got some victuals ready for the Gas's people, and they returned to the camp.

The townspeople, numbers of whom had never known of my going, hearing of my return, came to see me; some rebuked me for my error, and some cursed the Gas for his artfulness. This, however, proved to be a lucky malady, for the Gas Guebra Michael, hearing that the Gas Ischias was approaching behind him, immediately hurried back from following Subegadis, and by forced marches came up with the Gas Ischias, before he could be near enough to have any assistance from Subegadis, though by this the Gas Guebra lost a number of brave men. Subegadis, who had retreated not very far back into his province, hearing of Guebra Michael's having turned back, marched after him with all speed, and came up with him in a narrow valley, on each side of



which were steep precipices, through which a torrent had forced its way in the rains. There, though Subegadis had but few men, he began to fire down upon this narrow pass, exactly where the Gas Guebra was passing the greater part of his army, in hopes of reaching the Gas Ischias. On hearing the firing, those in the front turned round on the height which Subegadis held, and he was obliged to fly, though not before he had done great mischief. Guebra Michael's mule was shot under him, and a great number of his followers killed. This was the second animal Subegadis had shot under Gas Guebra. Next day, Guebra fell in with Ischias, who fought a sharp battle, but was at last defeated; he himself escaped on horseback to the country of Subegadis, but few of his men fled with him.

March 1st. The Gas Guebra Michael entered Adowa; priests from all the churches were stationed in different groupes, dressed in their sacred habiliments, with crowns on their heads, and bearing large crosses. The Gas alighted from his mule before each groupe, to kiss the cross and receive a blessing with the Lord's prayer as usual, the horsemen riding like madmen in different directions, and the girls and young women of the town dancing, and singing the praise of Abba Gurga, such being the war-



name of the Gas Guebra Michael, as Badinsah was that of the late Ras Welled Selassé. These names form the common watchword of battle, otherwise, in the confused and disorderly manner in which the Abyssinians fight, they would often mistake their own party for that of the enemy. I shall here give the warlike names of the different chieftains now in great power, having before mentioned that those names are taken from the first horse they ride on to war in their youth: Ras Guxo, Deigeo; Ras Ilo, Lincher, in Galla Leon; Ackly Marro, Lamo; Hilier Mariam, Demanner; Gas Ischias, Abba Culoc; Subegadis, Abba Garre Bar; and the Gas Woldi Raphael, Abba Fetton.

All the petty chiefs, in like manner, have names to distinguish them from the private soldiers. There is no country that I have seen, where people are so fond of displaying their dignity, as in Abyssinia. When a chief of any power goes either to court or to church, he has a whole body of armed men to attend him; on a visit he has the same, and indeed, men of the lower class, who have only one servant or soldier, are followed by him with his spear and shield wherever they go, should it be only on necessary business within their own premises. Every person who owns a little landed property, that may bring



him in at the most to the amount in cloth, or salt, of one hundred dollars per year, is always seen with five or six shieldsmen close behind him, and perhaps a matchlock or two in front of him.

Even the women of superior rank are fond of shewing themselves off, either in attending church, or in paying or returning visits, on which occasions they are mounted on a mule, with a soldier on each side to steady them, a whole train of spearmen following behind, and a great number of their female attendants running in front. Whether the lady can read or not, she has two or three books carried before her, which are generally tied round the necks of young boys or girls smartly dressed; these books being commonly covered with a piece of red cloth. The ladies, when on their excursions, always keep the head and part of the face covered with the cloth they wear; when in church, their book is opened before them, and some one in favour turns over the leaves, as they pretend to read. Their eyes roll about on all sides, viewing those about them, though they never stare any one in the face who looks at them. Whether going or coming, they take as roundabout and as public a way as possible, that every body may see their grandeur. If on foot, their pace is very slow;



indeed, it would be scandalous to see a lady walk quick.

In the evening, I was sent for by the Gas Guebra Michael to dinner; he behaved to me with the same civility that he had always done, but laughed much at my having taken service with the Gas Ischias, who, as he said, was nothing but an old drunken fool, who could not content himself in his old age with what he had without molestation from any one. "I have," said he, "frequently promised never to interfere with him in his own district. Woldi Raphael has done the same, as well as Subegadis; but while he can get maize he can never be quiet."

After dark, I went with the Gas to see one of his household soldiers, who had been wounded in the attack made by Subegadis, and who was likely to die: it being a long way to the house where the patient was lying, the Gas ordered his mule to be saddled, and one for me, otherwise I could not have gone, my mule not having been sent to fetch me, and I being still very weak. When we arrived at the hut of the patient, the Gas alighted from his mule, and, on entering, threw his cloth from his shoulders, and wrapped the corners round his loins; such is the respect paid to the sick in Abyssinia. I have observed, during my long residence among these people, that this is



the general custom, and that a man of high rank, even the king, though ever so proud and tyrannical, shews this mark of attention to any subject, if from regard he pays him a visit. The different times Ras Welled Selassé visited me, during my illness, I always remarked that he did the same thing on entering the door. When seated, they raise their cloth, commonly above the chin, but, on quitting, they pay the same compliment as before, and repeat the words, "God send down pardon!"

I have before mentioned, that every neighbour is very strict in visiting the sick once or twice a day; even the great people are sure to send a servant to ask after a sick person morning and evening, at the same time enquiring if they want any thing; so the patient is never without company. Such is the attention towards the sick, which, as I imagine, has more good effect upon the body and minds of patients than could be produced by shutting them up in a room or hospital, and employing a dozen physicians to attend them.

Nature sometimes cures wounds almost miraculously; and I know a man, now living, who was, in the presence of thousands, as well as myself, taken up by an elephant, with a tooth having a sharp point of the smaller size, and turned about like a fly, with the tooth through the left ribs,



and thrown into a pit of water, whence he was immediately taken and carried three days' journey to his home. This happened in the year 1807, when on a march through a multitude of those animals, which we fell in with among the wilds between Hamazen and Murrav; forty men were killed at the time by them, as well as some asses, and a still greater loss was sustained in wounded. I knew another man, who was speared in the left ribs, from which wound issued part of the lungs, which was cut off, and the wound sewed up; besides which, at the same moment, he was mutilated in the usual barbarous manner; yet he fought during the remainder of the day, though he expired on the following\*. Several other extraordinary natural cures I have witnessed. The only thing esteemed in the country as certain death is hamstringing; they have no notion of stopping the blood.

\* Neither of these cases appears to be very fortunately selected as a specimen of natural cures. With respect to the first, it does not appear that Pearce either did, or could, ascertain whether any assistance from art was afforded to the man at his journey's end. And as to the latter case, it is stated that the part of the lungs protruding was cut off and the wound sewed up. Both cases seem to partake, in no small degree, of the marvellous, and perhaps, in the last instance, it may be more charitable to doubt the anatomical knowledge of Pearce than his veracity. There can, however, be *now* no doubt that many do survive the revolting operation alluded to, which followed the first wound given to the second sufferer.—*Editor.*



March 2nd. Some people arrived on business to the Gas from Deverer Abba, among whom was an acquaintance of mine. They brought the sad news of a sickness raging in that part, and that a number of the monks of Waldubba and Deverer Abba had fallen sacrifices to it, as well as the inhabitants of the Kolla parts of Shiré. This is a common plague in that part of Abyssinia, at different seasons, but it is more general at the commencement and conclusion of the rains. The people of Waldubba, religionists of both sexes, as well as the inhabitants, attribute this malady to a green and very poisonous snake, which is very common in that part, and is of a small size. They say that when these snakes die, or are killed, flies are bred from them that carry the poison from one person to another, throughout the country. However, I cannot give any credit to such an opinion, as the cattle are not affected, and as some of the Kolla parts of the country are in general very unhealthy at different seasons. I was informed by the people from Deverer Abba, that my old friend, the priest there, had given up his office of high-priest, and that Memer Gudlu had succeeded him.

The Gas Guebra Michael remained at Adowa some time, continually plagued by the Abuna; multitudes of poor souls were perpetually arriving



at the town, who had travelled from Shoa and Coffa, as well as from the utmost skirts of the country, merely for the Abuna's blessing and confirmation in the Christian faith, which he would not agree to bestow without the regular payment, which scarcely one out of a hundred could afford.

March 6th. A Mahomedan Negade, from Massowa, brought me a letter, which came from Mr. Salt; it contained a letter to the Abuna, which I had previously heard of, and, being overjoyed at its receipt, I saddled a neighbour's horse and rode full speed to the Abuna. On delivering the letter to him, he smiled and looked a little pleasant, but on reading the contents he eyed me very crossly, and ordered me away without any question or answer. When I retired to the gateway I got into conversation with Washer Gumhe Woldi Mariam, who is the head interpreter, and who, though a great bigot to the Copti religion, was getting tired of the Abuna's behaviour. He told me he sincerely thought that such a sudden change, from poverty to wealth, had driven him mad; and began, as we sat together, to calculate the salt that he imagined the Abuna had received daily, from the time he came into the country till the end of last year, since which the number of visitors had been diminished to one tenth. He said that every day, upon an average, he had



received one thousand pieces of salt per day, during two years, which is, in this place, as much as thirty-three dollars and one to the third thousand, allowing thirty pieces of salt to the dollar, which, in the total, amounts to about twenty-four thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars and one-third, in two years. In Gondar, the salt is more valuable, being sometimes ten pieces only per dollar, and at times as low as six. At present the Abuna does not get a thousand pieces in the course of a month.

The extraordinary profit of the two last years was owing to the absence of an Abuna from the country for the space of fifteen years. The number of males born in the different parts of Abyssinia during that time, as well as those led by superstition to be confirmed by the new Abuna, must have been very great; so that, in the course of time, he will have none but new-born infants to confirm. Baptism is thought but little of, compared with *zockon*, which means confirmation by the Abuna. No female has a right to this formality; and indeed, a female is not allowed by their ancient laws to come into the Abuna's presence; but this present madman will sometimes allow women to appear before him, to make complaints of their husbands, and at times take their part in a wrongful cause.



The above-mentioned salt is due only from those who are confirmed by him, though numbers of priests pay him a considerable quantity of salt for a title, or to be put at the head of a church, which is in his power; besides all this his estates are numerous in different parts of Abyssinia.

March the 7th. The Gas Guebra Michael left Adowa, and marched towards Honge, having heard that Subegadis was upon the move. From Honge, he marched to Edderger Sayer, the position Subegadis held, when first assailed by the Gas Ischias, when the great battle took place, in June, 1816. On this spot he remained for some time, the chiefs of Arva and Digan coming to him, to declare their attachment to him and enmity to Subegadis. Baharnegash Yasous, Kantiva Sasinas, and Amder Mariam, son of the late Baharnegash Subhart, are the only enemies that Subegadis has in this part of the country; and, though they possess but little power, they throw many obstacles in his way, being in his rear, and when assailed by him have a convenient retreat among the Shiho, or Hazorta, towards the coast.

The Gas Woldi Raphael has been a long time quiet in Enderta, and has made several trips to the Arro. Forty pieces of salt are equal, at this time, to a piece of cloth in Enderta; while here in



Adowa, and all parts of Tigré, it has, all at once, become scarce ; and this day, in the market, I could not find ten pieces in exchange for a piece of cloth, or a dollar, and what is to be had in exchange is chiefly from the Abuna's servants, who are taking this advantageous opportunity to convert this cumbersome money into a more convenient sort, such as cloth and dollars ; though, as the salt falls and rises in value, so do the articles bought with it.

About a fortnight ago a good *merarsha* [ploughshare] cost from fifteen to twenty pieces of salt, or three-fourths of a piece of cloth ; but at present, a large *merarsha*, weighing from four to eight pounds, fetches no more than from four to six pieces of salt, though the quantity of cloth is the same as when the salt was much cheaper. The ploughshares, knives, or any articles formed of iron, are not sold by weight ; the make, the shape, &c., fixing their chief value. An article weighing a pound will fetch as much as another weighing five, if of superior workmanship.

Iron is cheapest about Salora, Bora, and Wojjerat, where it is found in great quantities ; it is got from the sides of the mountains and in the valleys in large heavy pieces like iron-stone. Those persons called Budas, of whom I have



before given an account, are the only people who manufacture it ; they throw this iron into a large charcoal fire, which they blow with several pair of bellows, very conveniently made of goat's skin bags, the muzzle of which is at the neck part of the skin. Each man blows two pair, one in each hand. When the iron is completely hot, it is taken out of the fire with large awkward pincers, or tongs, and held by one man upon a large flat stone, while two or three others, with large round or rather oval stones, strike in turn, with all their might, with both hands. This operation is repeated, until it is free from all earthy matters, and fit for use. In one part, particularly, near Bate Minga, in Wojjerat, there is found a particularly hard kind of iron, called Damascus, which is good for making files, small hammers, and steels for striking fire, called *bullard*. *Bullard emnu* is a flint stone. In all parts of Abyssinia iron is found, but not so plentiful as in the districts before-mentioned and about the province of Gojam. Though the Budas are awkward workmen, they make good knives and spears.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Fray at a *Marver*—Hyenas—Coffa of Slaves—Violence of Duster, son of Guebra Amlac—Procession of Altars—Fire at the Abuna's—Reconciliation of the Gas Guebra Michael and Ischias—Presents made to Pearce—Guebra Michael sends presents to Guxo—Strong Mountains—Ackly Marro—Guebra Kedan—Ozoro Sean—Ozoro Cottser—Incestuous Connections—Frantic Conduct of the Abuna—Movements of Chiefs—Procession of Priests—Interview between the Gas Guebra Michael and the Abuna—Pearce provokes the anger of the Abuna—Sham-Fight—The Gas thrown from his Horse—The Adventure sung publicly by the Women—Fish and Meat never cured by the Abyssinians—Their mode of cutting up Cattle—Perquisites of Household Servants.

MARCH 8th. In the evening, while the people of a *marver* [club] were making merry and drinking, on their established club-day, some of the *wotada* belonging to the Temben army came in and seated themselves among the members of the club, who seldom admit strangers; but, this being a critical period, they, through fear, allowed them to sit down in the midst of them, and served the drink out to them, as if they had been part of the *marver*. They had not been in long before in came three others of the same profession, but belonging to the Gas Ischias. The Tembens inquired who they were,



to which one of them replied, "*Ascar Abba Euloi*," upon which the others immediately ordered them out of the room, while the Gas Ischias's men insisted that the others should first go out. However, high words soon brought them to handling their spears and shields, and the fray began. Hearing the noise, I ran out of my door, and, being close by, I could see the poor people of the *marver* running out of the house in the greatest confusion, some forcing their way through the roof of the house. Those of the Temben party had gone out at the door, and those belonging to the Gas Ischias had followed them, and two of the former soon fell. I and two more men, formerly soldiers to the Ras, ran, with my servants, to part them, but, before we could come up, one of the Gas Ischias's men fell also.

The Temben had fixed his back against a wall, with a good shield, and, knowing well how to use it, he kept the other two off till we came to them. The two were so exasperated that they would not allow us to part them, till one of them dropped with a blow of a cudgel; the other soon received the same, and we took away their weapons as well as those of the Temben. We put the whole three in confinement, by chaining each to one of our servants. One of the Tembans died



immediately, but the other was carried away by some of his acquaintances; the wounded man belonging to the Gas Ischias also died. Those we had in chains we did not know what to do with, and, for fear of getting into trouble with either of the Gases, we all declined having the charge of them; so it was agreed to give them their arms and have no more to do with them. Next day several of the deceased's friends came to demand the murderers; but they were at liberty and among their companions, and no one dared to interfere with them. But the Gas Guebra, being made acquainted with the affair, had a guard sent from the camp, who took them up and delivered them to the friends of the deceased, who soon dispatched them in the market-place according to custom.

The Gas Guebra Michael left Sayer, and marched to Terevo, a strong mountain in Abasenate, and burned all the villages and corn, because the people had become allies to Subegadis. He then marched to Houlkee, belonging to Ito Nockindes, nephew of the late Ras Welled Selassé, who had joined Subegadis.

March 12th. In the evening, when the girls were about to enter the town with their loads of wood, and were forming into parties, to enter singing together after dark, I heard a great



disturbance among them; several were screaming violently, and, on my running with some of my neighbours, to see what was the matter, we found a young girl, who was last in the line, with her nose, eyes, and flesh, torn away by the bite of a *gib*, [hyæna] which had attacked her, she being little better than a child. Those girls who go out to gather wood start at daylight, with a cake of bread for the day, and return at dark, and if the *gibs* had courage in proportion to their strength and number, many would frequently be killed by them.

To-day arrived, about dark, the largest *cofla* of slaves that I ever saw, from Gullybudda. I went next morning to see them in camp; there were one hundred and sixty *twash* [eunuchs] and about seven hundred boys and girls, all in general very young. The brutes who had captured the former, when in a perfect state, were not contented with the booty, but had mangled the bodies of their prisoners for the sake of bravado. The Shangalla are never guilty of this act of barbarity.

During this month Ackly Marro left Gojam and encamped in Maitsha, after destroying every town and village of Damot. Ras Guxo ordered Ito Woldi Raphael to the mountain Emmanuel in Edjow; and the sons of Ito Woldi Raphael, who



were grandchildren to Ras Guxo, fled to Carretta Wolletta, in Tzana, under the protection of the monks, till they learned their grandfather's pleasure respecting them. I, having continued to visit my friend Ozoro Wolleta Raphael, almost every other day, and, when in town, every day, was one evening at supper with her, when her eldest son by Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, whose name is Duster, having disputed with the *selafe*, or person who has the office of serving out the maire, drew his knife, and stabbed him in the side. It was shocking to behold the lamentation of his poor mother on this occasion, but Duster immediately ran off to the Abuna's premises, where murderers cannot be seized. It was supposed that the *selafe* could not recover, the wound being large and deep. I did all I could to soothe the poor afflicted mother, who was like a distracted woman till cock-crow, when she went into a *case*: I then left her and went home, but, as soon as it was daylight, I again went and found her in the same distracted state. The *selafe* had not felt much pain, considering the nature of the wound, and it was supposed he would recover. He at the same time desired that Duster might return to his mother, as he had, in case of death, forgiven him. The poor mother begged me to go to the Abuna's premises, and chain her son to one



of the servants, and leave him there, that he might not run away to the Amhara and be lost to her for ever. I accordingly went with some of my own servants, and, after telling him not to be afraid, as the wound was not mortal, I coaxed him to the gate, and then we seized him and chained him to one of his mother's servants, and left him in the Abuna's premises.

A great multitude of priests and monks, belonging to the sacred *giddam* of Deverer Libanus, in Shoa, arrived here, and brought three new altars, consecrated to three different churches, newly built by Sarlu Selassé, the king. These altars bearing so great a name, and such attention being paid them by the people, who bowed to the ground as they passed, I was determined to watch an opportunity to have a look at them when uncovered. I accordingly went to the Abuna's premises, and the monks had immediate admittance, as they bore presents for the Abuna; but when the altars were uncovered I found that they were inferior to some of those in Tigré and Amhara, the commonest tinker's tool-box in England being far superior to them. The wood was awkwardly cut and nailed together, as if it had been done without any implement but a knife and a stone to drive the nails. However, the Abuna had received some presents from the priests, and he



said, after measuring the height and width, that they were of the right size, and he anointed them with *meron* and confirmed them. When they carry these altars through the country to the Abuna's premises, they cover them with the best silks their church will afford; and a priest marches before, when they pass any village or inhabited place, with a bell in his hand, which he keeps ringing, to warn the people to pay due respect.

The same day, towards evening, the Abuna's premises were observed to be on fire. I went immediately, with the inhabitants of the town, to assist in saving the property lodged there for security by a number of townspeople, who were always in dread of the town being plundered. The small apartment, where the Abuna lived in the midst of his treasures, was not burnt; but the great hall, which contained the goods belonging to the inhabitants, was entirely consumed. The Copti Gorgis, who had behaved so treacherously towards me, had arrived only a few days before from Massowa, with a very valuable cargo of articles adapted to the commerce of the country; such as Surat cloth, red and blue beads, and blue silks from Egypt, &c.; altogether worth nearly two thousand dollars, which made him one of the richest merchants of Abyssinia. All was consumed in the flames! And to see the old



creature running round the flames, and crying out, "I am ruined ! I am ruined !" gave me much concern ; and, notwithstanding the harm he had always endeavoured to do me, I still pitied him from my heart ; and, shortly after, having disputed with the Abuna, who refused him some small trifle of money to begin again, he came to me, apparently in the greatest distress, when I gave him part of my lodging, and he lived with me, as he formerly had done, free of all cost. However, the wretch was found out, one day when intoxicated with my maize, to have sewed up in a leather bag forty *wakeahs* of gold ; which he had, before going to sleep, given to my wife to take care of, which was ten times more money than all my house and I were possessed of. However, we never appeared to know what he had in his leather bag, which he still kept close by him, though he was seen by one of the children near the house counting the money, after he had received it from my wife.

While I was at the Abuna's he observed me very busy with the people, in striving to extinguish the flames, by throwing on baskets of dirt, the only remedy we could apply, being at a great distance from the water. He said, probably from some observations he had found in his letter, and with a very surly look, "Pearce, does Mohamed



"Alli governa Habesh?" I, knowing his meaning, returned him as pleasant and as good an answer as I could possibly think of, by saying, "No, but he governs the Coptis."

During this month the Gas Ischias came to terms with the Gas Guebra Michael; the former agreed to be subject to the latter, who was to give him Barrerquor, Narder, Zonge, Ardetserat, some part of Shiré, and one third of the duties received from the customs of Adowa; and they went to the Abuna, to take an oath of alliance before him.

Two servants, whom I had sent to the Ras Guxo and Ackly Marro, with a psalter for each, of the finest binding, returned about this time. I had not told them to make known to Ras Guxo and to Ackly Marro my distress. The former gave my servants two dollars each for their own clothing, and told them he would order me a house and provisions either in Gondar or Deverer Tavor, whichever of the two I liked best. Ackly Marro, whom they found in Agow Mudda, gave an order for two large elephants' teeth for me, which will sell here for fifty dollars, and one small one for my servants, which will sell for eight dollars. When my servants arrived at Gondar, they received the teeth from Palambarus Safu, who was governor during Ackly Marro's absence, and who is married to his sister Ozoro Altash. The king, Itsa Guarlu,



to whom I had also sent my servant with a book, gave them provisions and a man to help them to carry the teeth.

The Gas Guebra Michael sent his brother Buggerunde Comfu with presents to Ras Guxo, consisting of Persian carpets, two silver cups to drink out of, made in Adowa by Woldi Gorgis, the Greek's son before mentioned, and two *chiffers* and two *beetors*, ornaments worn upon the arms of the warriors, made by the same person, begging of Ras Guxo to send him his daughter in return. Ras Guxo, having taken the mountain Teras-ferre from Ras Ilo, who had escaped from the mountain Mekkina, another more impregnable mountain in Lasta, Guxo had followed him and surrounded the mountain: but Ilo, having both water and provisions, with good cultivated spots of ground in the valleys on the top of this mountain, it held out a considerable time.

Ras Welled Selassé, in the year 1807, took both these mountains by storm, as well as Timbilla in Edjow, which is the most formidable mountain in Abyssinia, except Amba Hai, in Samen; the latter is very large, and has a number of villages upon it, as well as much cultivated land and pasture. It was once taken by the Ras Welled Selassé, before I came into Abyssinia, from Ras Guebra. Timbilla is but small, and it was taken through the



treachery of the governor, whom Gojee had put in command of it. The Amhara seldom ever attempt to storm a mountain where there is one or two matchlocks to defend its entrance, always preferring the plain for a field of battle, on account of their having few fire-arms and a very numerous cavalry; while the Tigré, having a few horse only, and a great number of matchlocks, pick out a mountainous place to fight their battles.

The Gas Ackly Marro has given a great portion of his districts near Gondar to his Blitingatore, or secretary, Ilo; viz: Sar Amba, Chilgar, Inchet Amba, Arba Amba, mountainous districts; Quorra, Ginjarge, Ras-el-feel, Rugkie, and another small district near Gondar, Defecha Kedaner Merrit, where the Jews, commonly called Fellashers, have a synagogue, or place of worship, called Merkorra. The Gas Ackly Marro is himself building a town in Maitsha.

Fit-aurari Guebra Kedan, a general of Hilier Mariam's, Gusmarsh of Samen, having deserted his chief, came to join Guebra Michael, and enticed a great part of his army to follow him. The Gas received him kindly, and gave him the income of the district under Ito Hannis in Shiré, to maintain his troops, but numbers soon began to repent the change and return to their native provinces. The Abuna, as usual, kept up con-



tinual disputes with the Gas Guebra Michael and Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac.

I went to Axum, to take leave of Ozoro Sean, the late Ras's wife, and daughter of the king Tecla Gorgis. After my departure from the wilderness of Temben, where I left her, the Gas Guebra Michael took her and had a daughter by her, but, for some particular circumstance, supposed to be that the Gas Guxo would refuse his daughter, while she remained in Tigré, he ordered her to quit the country. She set out for Waldubba, the old residence of her father, with some monks of that place. I accompanied her as far as Segame, through respect to her late husband, the Ras, and then returned; she appeared to be much grieved. "Guebra Michael," she said, "was cursed for ever." Upon my way back I went to Calum Negus, and other places of the ancients, in search of inscriptions, but found nothing but what I had formerly seen. The very day the Gas sent Ozoro Sean away, he sent to Axum, and took Ozoro Cottser to Adowa, whom he took to his bed. Cottser is the daughter of Azgas Sarlu, formerly governor of Maitsha, the regular wife of Tecla Gorgis, though he kept twelve others till his death. Ozoro Serockshis was reckoned the greatest beauty among his wives, and since his death, his eldest son Ilo has



kept her. I often tell him he does wrong, we being old acquaintances; sometimes he denies having any connection with her, and at others confesses it was through the affection he bore his father that he has become in love with her. "I know," said he, "that my father loved her above all others."

Ilo, the son of the late Balgadder Hannis, had two children by one of his father's wives, before his father died; several such cases are known to have occurred, but are not noticed except by the priests, who pretend to absolve the offender from such sins for a trifle of property given to the church, the poor, and themselves.

Buggerunde returned from Ras Guxo, but without his daughter; a few days afterwards he went again on the same errand.

April 1st. I was busily employed in making a mixture of gunpowder and butter for the Gas Michael, to apply as a cure for the itch; his ankle and about the instep of his foot were getting into one great sore, and other parts of his body were thickly covered.

In this month Ito Barrier made his first movement from his own districts, since he came into power. He burned the capital town of Salora, called Deverer Serlammo, and returned to his favourite district Bora.



The Abuna again, on a market day, took a madder fit than usual; he came into the market-place, in the midst of several thousand people, like a man distracted. He found out the place where the drum is kept, to be ready for any order that the Gas may wish to issue, seized the drum-stick, and began to lay on, beating the head of the drum in a frantic manner. The people assembled about him in multitudes; some, who attempted to kiss his garments, he struck with fury; and at last he cried out, which was repeated by the interpreter, "I desire that none of you buy or sell, take or bring any thing to or from the market, eat or drink, or have any communication with each other, until the drum is beaten by order of the Gas Guebra Michael, to proclaim me governor over all the districts called Arder Abuna, consisting of two hundred and twenty towns and villages; and all the soldiers, natives of the said villages, shall be placed under my command." To satisfy the populace, the Gusmati Guebra Michael was obliged to comply, and the Abuna's orders were obeyed.

Subegadis marched to Derra, to attack Ito Tecla Gorgis, son of Abba Garlum Carsu, and Ito Hannis of Asmo, who had formed a considerable army to resist him, but they were soon



lasted prisoners and their great number. Little Gariin Lami died while a prisoner in the hands of Suubegadi. The late Gariin Bichan divided his men into different parts of the country for wages and provisions. The greater part is Shire, as this district affords more cattle than any part of the country east of the Tana.

April 11th. Five very fine horses arrived as a present from Ras Guxo to Gariin Michael; but his brother Buge-muud Gariin did not arrive with them. Guxo is now in Suuqal, the capital town of Lasta, he having given up for the present the attack of Ras Da, who still holds the strong mountain Mokkina. Akich Marro remains in Maitsha.

Homoda, son of the late Gas Liban, is encamped in the district of Wadler, which is in the dominion of Ras Guxo. It is supposed he means to assist Ras Ilo; he is as powerful as his father was, and his horse are said to amount to eighteen thousand, very little short of Guxo's army in the number of cavalry, but very inferior in foot. He is said by all who are acquainted with him to follow the example of his great-grandfather, Gongual, who conquered all before him as far as Gondar, where he took possession of the king's house for a few days, but always slept in camp at night. His tent having been



blown down one night by the wind, he left the country through superstition; hearing that the Tigré army was advancing, he was afraid to offer battle, the fall of his tent being a bad omen.

April 19th. The great holyday that concludes the long Lent is called Sambat, or Resurrection Sunday. Yesterday the priests, as is customary, went about the town in parties, carrying crosses and other ornaments of the church, marching in procession, and singing in the praise of God and of the person they are going to visit. In this manner they visit every respectable person of the town, at least such as they know to be capable of giving them their fill of victuals and drink some days afterwards. When they enter the house, they first give to the master and mistress, and then to the servants, some green rushes, one of which they tie round the head for that day. They then present the cross for them to kiss, and, after saying the Lord's prayer, proceed to another, and so on, till they have visited every respectable man or woman in the town, who belongs to their quarters. In requital of this attention, they are invited by turns, during the following month, by those whom they have visited, and who, according to their wealth and generosity, will give them a feast of victuals and drink, numbers killing two



## THE ABUNA AND HIS DISTRICTS.

He three cows to satisfy these hungry priests with  
bread.

April 24th. The Gas Guebra Michael went to the Abuna, to endeavour to prevail with him to give up the idea of governing the districts which he had claimed, assuring him it would be an impossibility for him to keep them in peace with each other, without a military force of his own to defend; and he, being a patriarch, could not march against those who should rebel against him. For this reason and some others, he begged that he would permit Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac to command those districts as formerly; the income should be duly gathered through him, and paid into the hands of the Abuna, and if any deficiency should happen in the payment of these incomes, even to a quart of corn, he, Guebra Michael, would be answerable for it. He also said, bowing to the ground, "If you deny all this which I have requested, let me at least have the soldiers belonging to those districts, which are more than three thousand, and some of them my own men, the loss of whom will weaken my army, and my enemies will find pleasure in oppressing me. I am your son, your dutiful son, from my youth, and my forefathers have followed your example."

The Gas, having a bad opinion of the Abuna's



interpreter, from his being afraid, or thinking it against his own interest, to explain whatever he should request, had taken me with him to hear the interpretation, and, if I noted any thing deficient, to interrupt and explain it. Accordingly, finding the interpreter was silent with respect to many of the requests which the Gas had repeated, even in saying he would be answerable if Guebra Amlac did not pay him the income to a quart of corn, I interrupted him, and began to explain; but before I had pronounced half what I had to say, the Abuna raised his stick, and was going to strike at me with vengeance, as he frequently did the Abyssinians, and said, "Who made you my interpreter, you *Feringee yer Marraras yer Kaf-far?*" but, seeing me ready to return his blow, he checked his passion. At that moment the Gas and all the chiefs present rose and dragged me out of the room, though none were offended with me. I have before mentioned, that no one is allowed to enter the Abuna's premises with knives, or any other weapons, all being obliged to unbelt and leave their arms in the hands of their servants, otherwise the wretched Copti would not give himself such high airs as to strike them when he pleases. I have heard numbers of men declare, that if he were to strike them as he did many, they would cut him down, if he was a



prophet from God. Subegadis, in particular, I have heard say such words, as well as many others, observing at the time, "He cannot be a man of God who gets drunk and strikes people." For these reasons, such persons never go near him, for fear of being provoked to resent his misconduct. Subegadis has never been near him since he went to solicit his blessing at Chelicut, two days before his army was destroyed, and he and his relations taken prisoners; it being remarked that the Abuna's blessing was a bad omen.

The Gusmati was obliged to quit his presence without any answer but abuse for harbouring Feringees, meaning me. At the gateway every chief mounted his horse: the Gas ordered me to ride his, and he mounted one belonging to Ito Aftu Gorgis, son of Shum Giralta Toclu; this was done to satisfy me that he was rather pleased than angry with me for my behaviour to the Abuna. The different chiefs, with their small parties of horse, exhibited a sham fight with the Gas and his household, nothing pleasing the Gas so much as to see me fire with my gun and pistols. After some diversion, the Gas rode towards the church of Kudus Michael, every one following him. On approaching the edifice, all dismounted, and proceeded with the Gusmati into



the church, where they waited a few minutes for a prayer and the high-priest's blessing. When they again mounted, they began their former exercise, after crossing the river Assem to the green or market-place, when the Gas put his horse to full speed, in chase of some chiefs who had pretended to run, as they frequently do in such diversions. On coming up, I fired a pistol that was well loaded with powder only, which, being discharged very near the Gusmati's horse, frightened it by the report; when, making a sudden leap on one side, the animal threw the Gas, while some thousands of both sexes were viewing him; the women, as is customary when a chief is mounted and marching into town, singing *Lillerlil*, a kind of huzzaing, called *Lillerliliter*.

The Gas, though a man of middle age, was bald, and had been from his infancy used to wear a turban, which fell off; and this appeared to me to give him more uneasiness than the fall: he received no hurt, though he was greatly annoyed by the exposure of his bald head. The Abyssinians in general joke very much with bald-headed people, though there are numbers in the country. At dinner there was much laughing about it. The poets of the Gas repeated by turns a number of verses, in which they made out the fall to be a lucky omen; asserting that



Ras Michael and, after him, Ras Welled Selassé, fell on the same spot, while exhibiting their address in the same exercise on the commencement of their power : but the young women and girls belonging to the town, without doors, were singing the adventure in verse in a very different style. It is a general custom with the Abyssinians, especially with the females, to sing verses of this kind, merely to shew their esteem or contempt for one person more than another. The Gas and his soldiers were obliged to listen without shewing their anger, as it would only make matters worse to fall out with the women ; the only way to put an end to such songs is to be generous, and give each gang a cow. On all great holy days, the women go to the premises of the different chiefs, where they sing in praise of each, till he gives them a cow, but, if he does not, the song is changed to some kind of abuse or ridicule : and if a chief has ever done any thing to the prejudice of his character, such as shewing symptoms of cowardice, or what not, they will make it the subject of a song, which they will sing over and over again for days together, after their domestic work is done. Should a chief have no blemish upon his character, they touch him up for his stinginess, and all are obliged to bear it with patience, or comply with



their demands. They will even make a sham cry if he pays no attention to them, holding a cloth up to resemble the customary cry for the dead. Although he may order his soldiers to beat them away, that would only make things worse, as they would begin upon them by saying, "You can fight well with women, but are afraid to meet your own sex." Very few deny them, in case it be upon a regular holyday, and it is customary to give on such a day. Even if a private soldier, who has killed a lion, an elephant, a *ghosh*, [a wild buffalo] or a Galla, enters his master's premises with his trophy, the young girls of the town plague the master till he gives them a cow. The trophy of the elephant is its trunk, that of the lion the skin, and that of the *ghosh* its large horns. No trophies are shewn of any other wild beast, except it be the *wobo*, which I have before mentioned, and which is seldom met with but in the hotter parts of the country. I once, in the time of Nebriid Aram, saw a snake's skin brought in as a trophy, but it was not reckoned such by the Ras, though it was very large and of an uncommon species.

Next day, the Gas, merely to shew the populace that he had received no harm from his fall, went a-fishing in the lower Assem, whither he was followed by the whole of his chiefs. This



not being a fast day, every one was certain that the Gun only went to this sport to shew that he was nothing the worse for his fall; when he mounted his horse on his return, he exhibited the same feats as yesterday, but there was no firing of pistols: indeed, I did not return with him, as I was busy in catching fish, which, as I have frequently done before, I preserved in vinegar and salt, of which art the inhabitants were quite ignorant, and they seem to dislike the practice, although I observed that they all liked the eating of them very well when so cured. Even beef, that I have salted and cured in different ways, some pickled and some smoked, they have relished very much, as well as dried tongues, &c.; but I never could prevail on any to follow my example, their lazy disposition being, I imagine, the real cause; for it cannot be through any superstitious notion, as in that case they would not be partial to the eating. The bony parts of the animal, which would be much esteemed in Europe for making soups, are here entirely wasted, especially those of the cow, the flesh of which is in general eaten raw, and the bones thrown away with all their substance. As they cut up the animal into a certain number of pieces, each having its proper name, I shall here give the names of the most important pieces, and describe the part



to which they belong, and mention the pieces that are the perquisites of the different household servants; viz:—

Two prime pieces called *tensher*, from the rump-bone down the hind quarters.

Two, called *tarlack*, from the hip-bone, with part of the buttock.

Two, called *shimpte*, from the rump-bone, part of which is joined to it in a long narrow piece, taken from each side of the back-bone as far as the shoulder.

Two, called *shuleda*, from between the *tensher* and *tarlack* before-mentioned; it is a single muscle.

Two, called *gudner-er-diet*, five of the foremost ribs, with the flesh and part of the gristle from the blade.

Two, called *gudner guros*, three ribs, which have the flesh stripped off two, and hanging to the end of the middle rib.

Two, called *ingiddet*, a prime fleshy part, taken from the muscle close to the joint of the thigh-bone.

Two, called *sarage*, from the skirts behind the kidneys.

Two, called *gubberta*, a piece cut from the rib, about half an inch thick, and about a foot and a quarter broad, nearly round.



Two, called *silwada*, a piece hanging to the two hindmost ribs.

One, called *karkarhe*, the short bones that project from the back-bone, between the shoulders and neck, consisting of but little flesh, but much esteemed.

One, called *ackley*, the brisket, &c.

One, called *nunguda*, the rump.

Two, called *chickener*, a piece from the inside of the hind-quarter.

Two, called *arcuffa*, the blade-bone and meat.

Two, called *kutchelsessor*, a piece for boiling, from the upper part of the shoulder, which joins the small end of the piece called *shimpte*.

The above-mentioned are the names of the principal parts of the meat brought to the table; the other parts have a number of names, but are in general cut up in pieces, called *chumker siggar*, which are more than two-thirds of the animal, and are served to the lower class at table. *Tensher* and *tarlack* are in general brought in before the animal is one third skinned, the great people preferring the *brindo* of those pieces while it shivers under the knife. *Shimpte* is also considered excellent *brindo*. One *shuleda* of every animal is the perquisite of the man or woman who makes the maize. *Gudner-er-diet*, a piece for broiling, is esteemed by the great people.



*Gudner guros* is also esteemed for broiling; *ingiddet*, fine *brindo*; *sarage*, *gubberta*, and *silwada*, are broiled; *ackley*, not liked by people of rank, is in general broiled. *Munguda* is given to the greatest warrior, and is seldom offered to those who have not killed in battle. *Chickener* is a tender part, and, chopped very fine, and mixed with the slimy liquid that runs from the joints of the legs, with pepper and salt, is much esteemed by the great. *Arcuffa* is a fine piece for *brindo*.

One of the *gudner-er-diets* is the perquisite of the keeper of accounts; part of the neck, called *gogumsha*, belongs to the grass-cutter, the other half to the wood-cutters. From the ears, the flesh down the cheek belongs to the person who bears the master's shield and spear, with one of the fore-shins, the other fore-shin to the woman who washes the maize-jars. The head belongs to the people employed in the maize-house; of the other shins, one to the *selafe*, the servant of the maize, and the other to the *mahatsowa*, or washing-man. One fine marrow-bone, with about two pounds of flesh, belongs to the assistant maize-woman. They never eat the cow's marrow, but, if they use it, it is to grease their leather ropes, by which they tie the load on mules, asses, &c. The heart belongs to the head groom; the kidneys, with the bone of the brisket,



## THE PERQUISITES OF SERVANTS.

to the under-treasurer; the tripe to the cook-house servant, as well as the liver; about twenty pounds of meat, called *offal*, belongs to the porters, the head porter being also the butcher. The skins are divided between the head porter and the *chellie* *aggar*, captain of the meat.



## CHAPTER XIX.

Triumph of the Abuna—His enmity to Pearce, who sets him at Defiance—Movements of Chiefs—Cofla of Slaves—Ozoro Wolleta Raphael—State of the Weather—Feast of Abba Garimur—Conversions—Death of King Itsa Guarlu—Fatal Quarrel—Pearce's Journey to Ardabata—Method of making Gunpowder—Quanter—Ore resembling Silver—Pearce sets off for Gondar, but is obliged to return—Difficulty of crossing the Tacazzé in the Rainy Season—Ito Yoas, and the Sons of King Tecla Gorgis—Barbarity of King Minicuffa—No market held on account of the Rain—Want of Provisions—Battle between Ito Levassey and Ito Ilo—Escape of a Soldier of Subegadis—Interdict of the Abuna—Guebra Michael plunders the districts ceded to the Abuna—Is excommunicated by him.

APRIL 28th. Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac marched with intent to give battle to the gang which the Abuna had raised. I went to accompany him as far as the river Assem, and returned, knowing the minds of the people. Fit-aurari had not got far beyond the Mahomedan burying-ground, when he saw a body, far superior to his, on the side of the hill Moi Gogua; and his own troops, who were formerly as brave as any in Abyssinia, began to dread the curse, and their hearts failed. So Fit-aurari was obliged to return across the Assem, which is the boundary of



the Abuna's territories. This so much pleased the Abuna, that he ordered several cows to be killed, and gave his gang a great feast, and, standing in the midst of them said, "Those who fight for me with all their hearts are blessed, and if they fall in battle they are clear from all former sins: and those who do not fight with a goodwill are cursed for ever and ever." Now this ~~grumpy~~ <sup>grumpy</sup>-looking rascal is himself the most cowardly wretch in the world. At the time the rebels and Tellems destroyed Chelicut, he hid himself in a hole which he had made for that purpose, though they did not intend to harm him; and I heard that, on his coming out, he was in a pretty situation.

~~25th.~~ The Gas Guebra Michael marched with intent to join Ras Guxo at Socotta. On his taking leave of the Abuna, the latter ordered him to turn me out of Adowa, but not to let me go to Massawa, but to send me either to Galla or Taltal, telling the Gas I put bad thoughts in the heads of his children, and that I told them they were fools for looking upon him like God, &c. The Gas told him that he would not, if he were to die for it, do any such thing, saying, "Pearce has been with us many years, and has behaved far better than any white man ever did before, either in war or peace: he is a well learned Christian,



and has done great things for our churches, by giving books, &c.; and if you are determined that Pearce shall not dwell among us, first turn every Mahomedan out of this country and your own, so that we may all be Christians, both in Egypt and Abyssinia, and then we will send Pearce to the Feringees, as you say he is one." This speech silenced the Abuna, and, the Gas departing, I went with him the first day's march to Moi Galates.

30th. On my arrival at Adowa, I was informed by an old companion that the Abuna had told his soldiers that those who would kill Pearce were blessed by him, let them be ever so sinful before; and, knowing the superstitious minds of these people, I began to be very thoughtful and said to myself—Some of these fools, to get clear of their own sins, as they imagine, will perhaps watch for me, and, when an opportunity offers, will do the business when I am not aware. So I determined to keep in my hut after dark, and, out of the only thirty-five dollars I had in the world, I purchased a neighbour's mare for thirty-two, resolved never to go any where about the country except on horseback and armed.

May 1st. I took a ride close to the Abuna's premises, purposely to see if any fools would



singly or doubly attempt to fulfil their father's orders; when at some distance from them, I got off my mare, and, while one of my servants held her, I killed three very beautiful birds, after drawing the ball out of my gun and loading it with small tares. I then loaded it with ball, and sat down to skin my birds exactly in the sight of all those assembled at the Abuna's premises, and he himself saw me. After I had skinned the birds, and was laying them between some paper, one of the men-servants of the Abuna, an old acquaintance, came from the party and bade me good morning, and was as civil as when we were always together. I told him to sit down, but he said he was afraid the Abuna would see him, and asked, "Have you not heard what the Abuna has said about you?" I answered, "I have, and I come on purpose to see if any one will be fool enough to fulfil his order," at which he laughed and said, "I come to decide a wager; two of your old friends," mentioning their names, "have laid a cow that you have not heard of it. The one says you have, or you would not have come, and the other says you have not, or you would not have come out of the town." Though those people were at some distance, and could not hear me without the Abuna hearing me also, I made a sign with my hand to my ear to signify



I had heard. When the one who had come to me was going away, he said, "Don't think that any of us are such fools as to do you harm for the sake of the Abuna; the reason we serve him is because he is the best master in these times, as he has no one to fight against him, and he gives us provisions and cloths; and if the whole country were to come against him, he, being Abuna, would with his tongue and cross, drive them all to the devil, as he did Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac," &c., &c.

On the 2nd, news was brought that the Gas Guxo had left Socotta, and had marched towards Daunt. Homoda, son of the Ras Liban, had combined with Gojee and with the troops of Ras Ilo, with intent to give battle to Guxo. Guxo also sent word to the Gas Guebra Michael to release the Bashaw Wolockedan, whom he had treacherously chained, otherwise he would keep Buggerunde Comfu in chains till he complied. As I have before mentioned, Buggerunde Comfu is the eldest brother of the Gas Guebra Michael, who had gone with a great present to Guxo to demand his daughter for the Gas.

3rd. Nothing particular happened between the Abuna and Fit-aurari, as was expected yesterday.

4th. A great *cofla* of slaves arrived. Many



of them being afflicted with the measles, they were ordered to encamp at Moï Gogua. Great part of these slaves had been captured by the Gas Ackly Marro, and sold to the Mahomedan merchants very cheap, some fine boys at the rate of two or three dollars per head. The whole of the Shangalla and Galla adjoining Agow Mudda and the wilderness beyond Agow Mudda formed a very strong army, after they had marched from their own territories, and crossed the wilderness to Agow Mudda. The Gas Ackly Marro was soon informed of their approach, and immediately left Maitsha, and on the third day fell in with them, before they had done any harm to his district. They fought a very desperate battle, but Marro at last drove them and cut them up in the usual manner, besides taking upwards of two thousand prisoners, women, and boys, who were sent or taken to Gondar by those who captured them, and sold cheaper than cattle. Some of the soldiers, who had taken eight or ten and could not find provisions for them, were glad to sell four for a *wakeah* of gold, which was worth at the time eight dollars.

The 5th, being the holyday Abbagarva, Ozoro Wolleta Raphael sent for me very early to go to a church of that name in the country, about six miles off, beyond Deverer Siner. What her motive



was for going thus far to church I cannot affirm, but I had reason to doubt the holiness of her intentions. She took the favourite servant of her husband, the Fit-aurari, with her, and we went with all speed. She did not stay in the church, which is a small hut, nearly fallen down, more than ten minutes, after which she went to the house of a very handsome young man, of the name of Aftu, son of Shum Moda Surtsu. This Aftu, since the death of the Ras, has been in the service of Subegadis. She told me that she had something particular to say to him respecting Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac; so every one of us was ordered into another apartment, and they were left together for about three hours. We afterwards returned with all haste; but it was nearly sunset before we reached home. I heard her husband say to her at supper, "You have had your bellyful of church to-day, Wolleta," to which she answered, "Abbagarva is a good saint, and he deserves to be worshipped."

On the 6th, the Abuna began to employ his gang in building a new house and wall at Moi Shute, which is about three miles from his present house. Fit-aurari Guebra Mehedin, an inhabitant of Moi Shute, is the head of his gang: though an old man, the Abuna has taught him to speak Arabic; so he receives his orders



without any of the inhabitants understanding him.

On the 7th, the Abuna left his premises and went to Mariam Shovite, to consecrate a new church.

The Gas Guebra Michael encamped at Marser, the Gas Woldi Raphael, Ito Dimsu, and Ito Barrier, encamped at Moi Chonguor, right opposite to him, on the east side of the river Gibba; their army being very numerous, Guebra Michael was afraid to advance any farther. The Gas Woldi Raphael, with the Enderta army, determined to lose every man, before he would suffer Guebra Michael to enter Enderta, and Shum Giralta Toclú was sent by Guebra Michael to Woldi Raphael to propose terms of accommodation, but he returned without settling any thing satisfactorily.

On the 9th, Ito Arriah left the camp of Guebra Michael, together with Shum Temben Aversaw, and Ilo, and marched across the river Gibba, with an intent to harass the stragglers of Woldi Raphael's army, such as grass-cutters and those taking care of horses, mules, &c., at a distance from the camp. Woldi Raphael, being warned of their approach, came upon them with about three hundred horse, and Arriah, Aversaw, and Ilo, were obliged to quit their horses, and fly on



foot through the thick brushwood forest, that parts Alarsa from Enderta. As I have before mentioned, Arriah is the son of Ras Welled Selassé by a Galla slave, and, from the misconduct of his mother, and the deformity in his face, caused, at the age of six or seven, by a cow striking her sharp horn into the left side of the mouth, which cut the cheek open as far as the ear, the old Ras denied that he was his son, and since his death none but Aversaw and Ilo, grandsons of Ito Manassey, the Ras's eldest brother, will own him as a relation.

On the 10th, Guebra Michael fixed his camp near the same spot as before, but on a steep mountain, fearing that Woldi Raphael would come upon him. A few days ago Mr. Coffin arrived, with his partner Zoldi, and left me again, after a short stay, for Ardeserat.

On the 11th, the Gas Hilier Mariam encamped close to the Tacazzé, and sent his *worari* and plundered Overgalle and several other districts belonging to Guebra Michael. Subegadis also burned the district of Asgas Giggat, the most powerful chief under Guebra Michael.

On the 13th, the people who arrived here from Lasta reported that Homoda and Gojee had done much harm to the army of Guxo, and retreated without any loss. Ras Ilo was still on



the mountain Mokkina, surrounded by the troops of Guxo.

28th. For these fifteen days, nothing has been done by any of the chiefs. The Abuna has nearly completed his new premises; Fit-aurari still remaining quiet in Adowa.

29th. To-day some thousands of the country-people, with their children and cattle, arrived in the town and at the Abuna's premises, Subegadis having encamped near Adowa, and destroyed several villages, which were in the service of the Gas Guebra Michael. For the last four or five months the *coflas* from all parts have not been molested. Buggerunde Comfu is still in chains with the Gas Guxo, Guebra Michael refusing to set Bashaw Wolockedan at liberty.

30th. To-day a very violent shock of an earthquake was felt, and the sun did not appear an hour during the whole day. Although it was so very cloudy, no rain fell. It is very common in all parts of Abyssinia for the earth to shake; but it is never attended with any inconvenience beyond that of alarming the inhabitants.

June 1st was also very cloudy, but no rain.

2nd. A very numerous *cofla* with elephants' teeth arrived from Ras-el-feel, Walkayt, and Segudda. The measles having become very prevalent among the townspeople's children, to whom they were



communicated by the last *cofta* of slaves, the present one was not allowed to encamp at Assem, the proper stage.

On the 3rd, the Ras Guebra Michael left Alarser, and marched to Gullybudda, with intent to release Bashaw Wolokedan from his chains.

5th. Very early Wolleta Raphael sent for me to accompany her to Abba Garva, as she had done last month. Every thing happened as before. I had still greater reason to question the holiness of her visit.

6th. A servant of Gas Guebra Michael's arrived in the town, and directed the town-drum to be beat, to order the people to bring grass to thatch the Gas's premises.

7th. The weather still remained very cloudy, and the sun was scarcely seen two hours in the day, but no rain. On Saturday, the principal market-day, there was scarcely any market at all.

On the 8th, the forenoon was very clear, with a hot sun, the afternoon very cloudy, and a few drops of rain.

9th. The whole day very cloudy, but no rain fell. Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac was obliged to quit Adowa, on account of the approach of Subegadis.



10th. The forenoon very clear, and a hot sun. Subegadis quitted his situation at Gundufta, and returned to Soyer Edderga, on account of the Gas Guebra Michael quitting Gullybudda, and marching towards him to Abba Surma. This evening very cloudy, and a misty small rain fell.

11th. The forenoon very clear, and hot sun; a light shower of rain in the afternoon. The Gas Guebra Michael left Abba Surma, and marched to Ferras Moi. Subegadis quitted Soyer Edderga, and marched to Amba Senate. On the 9th of this month the Gas Hilier Mariam crossed the Tacazzé, and burned and plundered Overgalle and several other villages belonging to the Gas Guebra Michael. The people who arrived here from Wadler informed us that Homoda was encamped in Damot, with intention to give battle a second time to Guxo, should he follow him so far. Ackly Marro had returned from Agow Mudda to Maitsha.

12th. The forenoon very clear; in the evening a light shower of rain. The Gas Guebra Michael marched towards Trevo. The Gas Woldi Raphael lay encamped at Moi Aggam in Enderta.

13th. The forenoon very clear, and hot sun; in the evening a slight shower of rain. No stir made by the chiefs.



14th. The forenoon quite clear, and the evening very cloudy, but no rain.

15th. The whole day very cloudy, but no rain; in the evening a heavy storm of wind stripped most of the huts and houses in the Mahomedan part of the town of their thatch. Subegadis, having been joined by his son Ilo, was so much reinforced that the Gas Guebra Michael, with the Temben army, returned from following him, and encamped at Mussowo, a very strong position.

16th. The forenoon very clear and hot; a brisk shower of rain in the evening. Subegadis again returned in sight of the Temben army, and encamped in a strong position at Hargy Iteer Carle.

17th. This day is a very great holyday and feast for Abba Garimur, when every class from all parts of the country assemble at the church, which I have often mentioned. No females are allowed to go into the church of Abba Garimur. I went with some of my neighbours, a little before daybreak, and arrived just as the sun was getting warm. This is as curious a sight as any other holyday: some thousands of women stand in different groupes between the church Abba Garimur and the church below it, called Mariam Zacharias, belonging to the tribe of Oun Arvel, who



also mingle among them. Trumpeters, drummers, and *imbitzers*, or fifiers, stand in a gang. About two hours after sunrise, the altar is brought out of the church, covered with silks, by the priests, dressed in silks and rags of all colours, silver and gold crowns, and ornaments; pictures and all the various riches of the church are brought out for the populace to do them honour. The priests dance and sing in the maddest postures; the women shout, the Zacharias wildly halloo, and the trumpeters, &c., make all the noise they possibly can. Gangs of young girls, in separate places, dance and sing to the beat of a drum, and some of the priests make crosses on the foreheads of boys and girls, giving the scene altogether the appearance of a Gentoo wedding in India. It being the second day of the Soam Ouot, or the fast for the apostles, no meat is killed, but the priests get beastly drunk, after the sacrament is administered, towards evening. The sun shone very hot and clear until mid-day, after which it became cloudy, and about two hours before sunset there fell a heavy shower of rain, which lasted until after dark.

18th. The whole day very clear, till about two hours before sunset, when very suddenly the air was nearly darkened, and a heavy shower of rain and hail fell, and lasted until dark. The



rivers Assem and Moi Gogua were overflowed and impassable until cock-crow.

19th. The forenoon very clear till mid-day, and afterwards very cloudy : towards evening a very heavy shower fell, after which a slight rain continued the whole night.

In the morning a curious exchange took place ; two grown people, Christians, turned Mahomedans, and two young Mahomedan boys, in consequence of their masters beating them, ran to the Abuna's premises, and turned Christians. The Mussulmans did all they could to get the boys back, but to no purpose ; no one interfered about the Christians ; indeed such fallings-off from their faith are occurring continually among the Christians, and it is not thought shameful as formerly.

20th. A misty small rain began about cock-crow, and lasted the whole day, and the sun never made its appearance.

Itsa Guarlu, king of Gondar, who died on the 12th day of last month, was buried in the church Mariam Gimgar Bate : his death was not made public, nor was it known to his nearest neighbours for more than a month ; which is generally the case when any person of high rank dies, if the event can possibly be kept secret. This is managed by the household servants and favourites,



who, when the chief is dead, send to all who held lands or property under him, desiring them to bring their rent, which is called *Negus Gibbra*. When they arrive, the *Blitingatore* and other *Balermals* of the deceased inform them that their master is ill and cannot be seen, and that he has ordered them to receive the money or articles they bring, which they pretend to write down on parchment to show their master afterwards. Having in this manner received all, they make known the circumstance, and a public cry is made in the market-place for many days. *Guarlu* was always very sickly and of a weak constitution; he was son to *Itsa Ischias*. His brother *Yasous* and sister *Mantwaub* died at *Chelicut*, in 1812, of the small-pox, and there is only one brother living, called *Yoas*. *Ito Zerobabel*, younger son of the late king *Tecla Gorgis*, is trying to get *Guarlu's* situation, but there is very little likelihood of his succeeding. At present no stir is made by any of the *Gusmaties*. Yesterday evening the *Abuna* entered his new premises.

21st. About midnight, when I and two more returned from shooting a wild pig, at *Shulada*, where they are sometimes very plentiful in the beginning of the rains, we heard that there was a quarrel, about five or six huts from ours, and we



ran immediately to see who were the parties. We found one dead, and his murderers, our own acquaintance, quarrelling to decide what was best to be done with him. Wollace, the principal among them, told me all that had happened; he said the deceased and the person who first commenced the quarrel were both near relations; the former came into the hut to turn the other out, and take the woman with whom he was lying, both being favourites of her's. She said, "Why have you both come at once? Why cannot one of you come another time?" The deceased had not given her notice the day before, as the other had done; and, seeing no knife, spear, or shield, hanging up, as his antagonist had hung up his in the next hut to Wollace and his companions, he drew his knife and called him by name to go out of the hut, which he did and ran and fetched his spear and shield, without telling Wollace and his companions what had happened. However, they all ran after him armed, seeing him in a fury. The one who had turned him out, hearing him and them coming, endeavoured to get out of the door, but, in attempting it, his adversary gave him a stab in the shoulder, as he stooped to crawl out, and his companions all began to cut him as they would a wild hog coming out of a pit; there was scarcely any part



of his body without a wound. In the morning some of his relations buried him; the murderers still remaining in the town unconcerned, there being no one to punish them; and what is more remarkable, the woman never attempted to make any alarm, and I saw her laughing and telling another girl how they pinned him in the doorway.

This forenoon was very cloudy, and a small misty rain commenced about mid-day, and lasted till after dark. Although it was the principal market-day, scarcely any body came, as every one robs and plunders as he pleases, there being no head in the town.

On the 22nd, I left Adowa to go to Arderbahti with a friend. The forenoon was very clear: about mid-day thunder and a heavy rain commenced, and lasted till the evening. I and my friend stayed for the night at Deverer Siner.

23rd. This morning was very misty, and the sun did not appear until mid-day. After hunting for pigs and guinea-fowl, we reached an acquaintance's house at Arderbahti before the rain came on, which was very heavy in the evening.

24th. We began very early to make some powder, in hopes of getting it ready to-day before the rain should come on; but, as we were



obliged to dry the willow-wood, which we only cut yesterday green, upon the *Moi Gogo*, and the rain began to fall very heavily about mid-day, we were prevented from proceeding for about an hour and a half; when the sun again appeared and we had an opportunity of making our powder into grains, after taking it from the mortar. In this country, when they want powder in a hurry, they first pound the brimstone and charcoal separately; they then measure it, as is customary, with a hollow cane, called *shambacco*, which cane is cut of a proper length for a cartridge-belt, one caneful and a half of sulphur to seven canefuls and a half of saltpetre. After the saltpetre is measured, it is put upon the oven, or any old earthen pan, with a brisk fire under it, till it becomes as hot as they can possibly make it without consuming it, and then they mix the brimstone with it, and immediately throw it into the mortar, while two people pound it with pestles and add, by degrees, charcoal, a little at a time: when it becomes too dry they put a little water, to keep it moist, taking a little bit now and then to dry upon a stone, to try if there is sufficient charcoal. When nothing is left upon the stone, after they have set fire to it, they consider that it is sufficiently mixed: they then, while it is a little moist, form it into large grains through



a kind of grass-sieve. The rain again began, before our powder was dry, and we were obliged to lodge with our friend for the night.

25th. In the forenoon the sun shone very hot, and we dried our powder, and set out, taking three days provisions with us. Before any rain came on we crossed the Mareb, where we shot two guinea-fowls, and a pig, after which we made haste to get to a cave, in the side of the mountain, where we had agreed to take up our lodging. We did not reach it before we were drenched with rain, and, after getting a load or two of the driest wood we could find, we made a good fire and broiled our guinea-fowls, and when we had eaten them we began to cut up our hog into strings, called *quanter*, and hung up several cords in the cave for the purpose, sprinkling over our *quanter* a little salt, which we had brought with us, and then hung it upon the cords to dry.

After sleeping and keeping watch, by turns, with a good fire burning, to prevent the approach of wild beasts, for the night, we went down into the plain very early in the morning of the 26th, leaving our boys to mind the *quanter*. We saw a great many elephants in the depth of the forest, but, having no gun large enough, we did not disturb them; indeed, our intention was to take a good stock of *quanter* to Adowa, and not to shoot



at any thing but what was eatable. After hunting till near mid-day we began to return, and after killing and skinning a large hog, an *aggerzeen*, and two *talebadelas*, we took as much of the flesh as our four men could carry, and arrived at our cave just as the rain commenced. Our two boys had collected plenty of dry wood, and, after broiling some meat and eating, we began to cut *quanter*, but did not finish till we got tired, and night came on.

We passed the night like the last, and in the morning of the 27th, while Gabriate, my companion, with two men, went down into the plain to hunt, I and the rest were employed in curing the *quanter*. We took all off the cords, and spread it in the sun, which was very powerful in the forenoon; and, while I was going about on the side of the mountain, which is full of hollow rocks or caves, I observed a spot, about twelve yards in circumference, covered with square stones, which, although Nature formed them, appeared as if they were cut. I was curious enough to break some of them; to my great surprise I found them all to contain a kind of metal resembling silver; I took a sample of them, and gave it to my boys to put into my goatskin, to send to Mr. Salt, for inspection.



Gabriate returned before the rain came on, with the hind quarters of a *madocquar* and one guinea-fowl; as the rain began we hung our *quanter* upon the cords again. In the evening, the rain, thunder, and lightning, were tremendous, and the wild animals, especially hyænas, were roaring as if distressed.

We passed the night as before, and, in the morning of the 28th, the sun rising very clear, we spread our *quanter* to dry for about two hours, when, taking the driest first, we put it all into our skins. After we had packed it up, we had six large skins full, and we set out for home, well contented, with all speed. I took Gabriate behind me on my mule, and in about three hours we reached the Mareb, which we found too full for us to cross, on account of the heavy rains the night before. After waiting for nearly two hours, it became lower, and we then crossed with some difficulty, and lucky it was no rain came on, though it was very cloudy. In the afternoon, we did not wish to trouble our first friend, but went to lodge with another at Arderbahti, who received us kindly. In the evening the rain fell very heavy.

On the 29th, we set out very early, with a clear and hot sun. On our way we stopped a little time to dry our *quanter* in the sun, to



preserve it, as it had not been perfectly dried ; after which we packed it up, and set out in hopes of reaching Adowa ; but, the rain coming on, we stopped at a friend's at Moi Shute, close to the Abuna's premises, but he never heard of us.

On the morning of the 30th, we entered Adowa, where I and Gabriate parted our *quanters*. Gabriate having been unwell, he ate hog's flesh as freely as myself ; otherwise, as I have before mentioned, none of the Abyssinians eat hog's flesh, except such as pretend to eat it by way of physic : it is detested by the priests and father-confessors. Since I left Adowa no stir had been made by any of the Gusmaties.

July 1st. Subegadis from some particular motive left his position, and marched back into the heart of his own country, Agamé. The Gas Guebra Michael left Moi Shute, and marched to Anterchou. This forenoon was very clear, but it rained from mid-day till night, with much lightning and thunder.

2nd. The whole day very clear till nearly dark, when very heavy rains began.

On the 3rd, a misty rain began before day-break, and lasted the whole day. In the afternoon the *cofla* for Massowa left the town, and I sent by this opportunity two large elephants'



teeth, which the Gas Ackly Marro had given me, to be sold at Massowa.

On the 4th, the misty rain still continued till evening, when it ceased: the sun never made its appearance this day. The Gas Guebra Michael left Anterchou, and marched to Gella, where he plundered a village belonging to Ito Houke, a servant of Subegadis, where he found plenty of corn for his troops.

5th. I left Adowa, with the *cofla*, for Gondar, where I intended to stop a few weeks; but, before we had got as far as Axum, we were met by a part of a *cofla*, which had crossed the Tacazzé on the 1st of this month, and they informed us that we were too late, as that river was already full, and in crossing they had lost a great Negade of the name of Gabri Mariam, a native of Adowa, with five slaves and several asses. The rest of the *cofla*, who would not venture to cross, had turned back to Howwozer to winter, or remain during the rains. On hearing this, a friend who went with me was in a great hurry to return to Adowa, it being the feast after the fast for the apostles, and he, being a faster, as soon as we got into town and to his house, unpacked his goods, killed a sheep, and invited a friend, who had the good fortune to arrive safe with the *cofla* from Gondar.



The Tacazzé is in general passable for *coflas* till the middle of this month, but the early and heavy rains of this season caused it to overflow very early. Messengers and people without burthen cross during the whole of the rains upon a raft, called *onquor*.

The Gusmarsh Ackly Marro, and Ras Guxo, have taken it into consideration to place Ito Yoas, younger brother to the late Itsa Guarlu, on the throne at Gondar; Zerobabel and Merrit being of a bad disposition, like their father Tecla Gorgis. The majority of the great men and priests had advised Guxo not to let either of them advance to the title of Itsa, though Merrit was certainly of high descent, being the son of the king Tecla Gorgis by Ozoro Houdar, daughter of the Ras Michael by Ozoro Altash, daughter of Itsa Yasous Tarlack, or king Yasous the great, by Ozoro Mantwaub, daughter of Ozoro Hunkey, the daughter of Itsa Minicuffa: though Mantwaub's father was not descended from kings, Minicuffa having given Hunkey to one of his favourite soldiers.

The cruelty of Minicuffa will never be forgotten while Christianity exists in Abyssinia. One curious piece of barbarity I have read in the history of his time. A Turk whom he had sent for from Arabia, to make mortar to build with, was some months in his service in this laborious



employment, when one day he called the poor fellow from his work in the court to drink maize. After he had washed his hands, he was ordered to sit down in the midst of many great men, and was served with a large hornful of maize, but, not having eaten any thing that day, and being afflicted with a complaint in his bowels, before he would drink he cut off three cloth buttons from his shirt and swallowed them. Minicuffa, seeing him do this, asked him the reason, and the poor Turk told him that he was tormented with three large worms in his belly, and that if he drank before he ate something, they would trouble him the whole day by turning about in his bowels; adding that each worm would take one of those three buttons, and be quiet till the next day. This greatly surprised Minicuffa, who ordered him to be cut open immediately, which was done, and Minicuffa found worms, as the Turk had told him, and he was afterwards very sorry for what he had done.

The present king, Itsa Yoas, began to reign in the same dependent situation in which his brother had been placed for nineteen years. On the 14th of June he was anointed with oil by the Echeggi, and crowned by the inhabitants of Gondar, by order of Ras Guxo and the Gusmarsh Ackly Marro. Yoas, ever since the death of his brother



and sister, Yasous and Mantwaub, had lived with the monks in Waldubba, through grief, which pious action occasioned Guxo to choose him for king in preference to his nephews, who are a wild and wretched set. Ras Guxo has returned to Deverertavor for the rains.

6th. The forenoon very clear; in the afternoon very heavy showers. Every mountain and rock is now become green. The heavy rains will not permit the Gusmaties in camp to quit their positions.

7th. This is the great yearly holyday for the Trinity.

8th. The whole day very cloudy, but no rain. The small-pox has made great havoc among the slaves, who arrived within the last two months.

9th. The forenoon sometimes cloudy and sometimes sunshine; the afternoon ended with a misty rain.

10th. Very cloudy the whole day, but no rain.

11th. The forenoon very clear; the afternoon cloudy, but no rain.

12th. Heavy rain commenced about cock-crow, and continued so violent that no market was held the whole day.

13th. The rain, which had continued the whole night, was reduced to a thin misty rain,



which continued the whole day. Not having a grain of corn in my house, I was obliged to set out in the worst of weather, with three boys, to buy a dollar's worth at a great distance: indeed, many of the townspeople were obliged to do the same, on account of the market not being held. The rain did not cease the whole day. On my return home late at night, I felt great pain from the effects of my former disease, which brought on a fever.

14th. A misty rain still continued, and did not cease till nearly dark; indeed the sun has never made its appearance since Friday. Some people arrived this day from Walkayt, who had crossed the Tacazzé on *onquors*, who say that many people have been lost in crossing. The Walkayt road is in general a safe road, as the Tacazzé is there very broad; in a plain, higher up, it is not one-third of the breadth, and consequently it must there run very rapidly. I have not seen such heavy rains the whole thirteen years I have been in Abyssinia, as have occurred in the present season.

15th. The rain, which again commenced soon after dark, has lasted ever since; towards evening misty and small rain.

16th. The same weather; we have not had a sight of the sun these five days; a long con-



tinued rain like this is called *chissur* in Amhara and Tigré.

On the 17th, the sun made its appearance in the morning, for about ten minutes, and then the air became dark, and a misty rain lasted the whole day. The Gas Guebra Michael, on the approach of Subegadis, left his situation, and encamped in Mumser. Although I was not quite well, I went to his camp at midnight, and, after I had paid my respects to the Gas, I left the camp, and returned home in the midst of a continued rain. The Gas remained at Mumser, the rain this day not permitting him to march.

On the 19th, I went again in the morning, with some of the Gas's soldiers, to meet him when coming into the town. In the afternoon the sky still very cloudy, with misty rain. To-day the market is little better than it was last Saturday, and corn is scarcely to be had at any rate.

20th. The whole day very rainy and misty. On Friday last, two chiefs of Ardarro arrived; one, my old friend Ito Levassey, and the other, Ito Ilo, son of the late Ito Dangish, a very powerful chief in that part of Abyssinia. These two chiefs had, for many weeks before, disputed about their districts. A battle took place in the morning, and ended after great slaughter.



Levassey, towards evening, gained a good position, and before dark Ilo was obliged to fly. Levassey took prisoner Ilo's mother, Ozoro Ardean, and plundered all her premises. She was one of the richest women in Abyssinia. To-day a favourite servant of Subegadis was found in the town, and the Gas Guebra ordered him to be chained and kept closely confined.

On the 21st, I went early in the morning, in very bad weather, to a cry for a relation of Asgas Giggar. On our return, the Gas was informed of the escape of Subegadis's soldier, who was chained to one of the Gas's favourite servants, a strong and powerful young man. Subegadis's servant contrived to conceal in his cloth, round his waist, a small knife, at the time he was chained; and, his great knife being taken from him, he with the small one managed to cut the throat of the man to whom he was chained, and, cutting off his hand by the wrist joint, he got off clear, with chains and all, in the night. I never saw Guebra Michael so much enraged before, and what vexed him most was the loss of one of his best men. I could not help smiling, as I knew his master had done the same thing in the time of Räs Welled Selassé. This morning the sun made its appearance for about three hours, but it rained in the evening.



22nd. The Abuna caused it to be proclaimed, that no church was to be opened, and no sacrament administered, in any part of the countries of Guebra Michael and of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, on account of Guebra Michael having taken part with Amlac, and ordered the town drum to be beat to proclaim Guebra Amlac governor of the districts which the Abuna had claimed. The morning was very clear, the afternoon cloudy and rainy.

23rd. The Gas Guebra Michael went to the Abuna's, to entreat him to open the churches, &c., but he returned without success. The whole day was clear and very hot till the evening, when heavy rain and thunder commenced.

24th. The Gas Guebra Michael sent his soldiers, and plundered several villages, and tied their chiefs for having joined the Abuna. This forenoon clear, afternoon cloudy and rainy.

25th. The whole day misty, with showers of rain.

26th. The Gas again sent some soldiers to plunder some villages belonging to the Abuna, the churches being still shut up and no sacrament administered. The Abuna next gave orders that none were to bury the dead, till his districts were restored to him. The whole day misty, but no rain.



27th. The Abuna issued orders that no one should draw water, break or cut wood, grind or give corn, to the Gases Guebra Michael and Guebra Amlac, nor even speak to them : but this order was not obeyed like the two former. The forenoon sometimes clear and sometimes cloudy, the afternoon rainy.

29th. Every thing very unsettled, and the people in crowds murmuring, but appearing to be more afraid of the Gas than of the Abuna. The weather as yesterday.

30th. Every thing still unsettled, and several dead bodies in the church-yards. The whole day very cloudy and rainy.



## CHAPTER XX.

Disturbed State of the Country—Assemblage of Priests—Guebra Michael's Troops refuse to face them—The Gas is forced to comply with the Orders of the Abuna—He takes off the Interdict—Stations of Chiefs—State of the Weather in the Rainy Season—Clay Houses demolished by the Rains—Atrocious Incendiary—A Rich Beggar—The Priests frighten the Abuna—Public Bathing—New Year's Day—Pearce accepts Service under Gas Ischias—Battle between Ischias and Guebra Michael—Narrow Escape of Pearce, who takes sanctuary at Axum, and Capture of Ischias—Festival of the Holy Cross—Guebra Michael takes Pearce again into favour—His Kindness to Pearce—Release of Gas Ischias.

**AUGUST 1st.** This is the first day of the fast of the Virgin Mary, called Felsetter, and reckoned a very holy day, but the authority of the Abuna prevented any one visiting the churches. Mobs of people in every part of the town, and every thing in greater confusion than at the death of Ras Welled Selassé. The whole day clear and hot until evening, which ended with rain, thunder, and lightning.

**2nd.** This morning very misty, with light rains. The priests began to flock into the town from all quarters, and great disturbances commenced where the troops of the Gas Guebra Michael were quartered. Several people went to the Abuna for



permission to bury the dead, which he gave saying, "Bury them, that their smell may not reach me, and their souls that I have cursed." The whole day continued misty and rainy.

3rd. Very early, some thousands of priests assembled at the Gas Michael's and Guebra Am-lac's premises, shouting and making a lamentable noise, and desiring that they would comply with the Abuna's orders, otherwise, they said, "God would rain down fire upon them, and destroy them;" and though the whole day was very rainy, these priests stood in it, annoying the Gas and every other chief under him.

4th. Soon after day-light the Gas, who had been assembling his troops the whole night, set out for the Abuna's; he had sent for me to accompany him and to be his interpreter, and the Abuna, being warned of our approach, assembled his rebel mob and sent a priest with his cross. Before we had crossed the river Gogua, this priest stood on the opposite side, holding the Abuna's cross aloft, and crying out to the Gas's people, "Any one who crosses the river in sight of this cross is cursed for ever." He had no occasion to shout often, for the Gas's troops stood as if thunderstruck. The Gas strove to encourage his men to march over, but, instead of so doing, they all sat down, declaring that they



could not fight against God. The Gas then said to me, "Do you go over, and perhaps they will afterwards have courage to proceed." I obeyed his orders, and rode over upon my mule to the priest, with whom I began to talk; but this had no effect upon the soldiers, and rather caused them to insult me on my return, saying, "You are cursed by our white father." After sitting for some time in this confused state, the Gas called all his chiefs round him, and, after some consultation, thinking it of no use to contend with the Abuna, they consented to send me to him, desiring him to take the curse off his people, that they might cross over to him peaceably, as they were ready to agree to what he desired of them. I went, and found the holy man seated in the midst of his forces, like the captain of a gypsy gang, and he very sulkily asked me what I had come for. I told him my message, in the presence of Ito Bartel, Ito Carli, and Ito Aftu, his head generals, and he consented to see the Gas the next day, desiring that he would come with as few people as possible, except priests. At this time the priests had covered the whole plain between Moi Gogua and Adowa. After I had conveyed the Abuna's answer to the Gas, we returned to the town. While I was with the Abuna he appeared to be intoxicated, and talked very freely,



saying, "Have you had any news from Egypt?" and laughing, added, "When I make it up with the Abuna\* I will make it up with you also." The whole day cloudy, with but little rain.

5th. This morning we again went to the Abuna's, in the midst of not less than twenty thousand people. Immediately, on our arrival at the Abuna's, the Gas and his chiefs were ordered in, and, after a long debate, the Gas was obliged, greatly against his will, to agree to the Abuna's desires. After all was settled, the town-drum was beat at the Abuna's, and in the market-place of Adowa, to proclaim Ito Bartel, Ito Carli, and Ito Aftu, governors under the Abuna of the districts called Arder Abuna, when the Abuna ordered the churches to be opened, the dead to be buried, and religious rites to be performed as usual. Before we reached Moi Gogua, the heaviest rain and hail I ever saw in my life commenced, but it did not last a quarter of an hour; the whole day until then had been very clear.

6th. The churches were full from morning to evening, when the sacrament was administered. Hundreds of boys, girls, old women, and men,

\* Probably meaning the patriarch of Egypt, from whom, through the intervention of Mr. Salt, he had most likely received a severe reprimand for his misconduct since his arrival in Abyssinia.—*Editor.*



fed upon it like young rooks, crammed by the schoolboys in the country-schools in England. The whole day a hot sun, till nearly evening, when a very heavy shower fell.

7th. No stir among the Gusmaties, and no signs of their doing any thing till the rains are over. The Gas Guebra Michael has received almost the whole of the Tigré and Shiré income. The Gas Marro still remains in Agow Mudda; Ras Guxo, at Deverertavor, in Begemder; Gas Hilier Mariam, at Inchetkaub, in Samen; Gas Woldi Raphael, at Antàlo, in Enderta; Ito Barrier, at Bora, in Agow; and Subegadis, at Agamé; all preparing for war on the cessation of the rains. The Gas Homoda has quitted Damot and returned to Daunt.

8th. The forenoon very hot and clear. At midday a very heavy shower of rain fell, after which sunshine till evening.

9th. Very cloudy, and the sun peeping through the clouds for ten minutes, now and then; in the evening very heavy rain.

10th. Market-day; every thing more plentiful and cheaper than usual. A hot sun the whole day, till evening, when rain commenced.

11th. This day begins the holy week, in the fast for the Blessed Virgin.



12th. The whole day very clear, but rain towards night.

13th. The forenoon very clear, several heavy showers in the afternoon.

14th. The weather as yesterday.

15th. The whole day very misty, with but little rain.

16th. The great holyday Filsetter, which ends the fast of the same name; though, being Friday, the regular fast-day, the feast is to be kept the following day. The whole day very misty, with light rains.

17th. Although the regular market-day, no one was to be seen in the market-place, all being engaged in their feasting. The Gas sent me a cow, Asgas Giggar another, Palambarus Safu another, and several others sent me a sheep or a goat. I received in all eleven sheep and goats, and three fat cows. The whole day very cloudy, but no rain.

18th. The forenoon clear; the afternoon cloudy, with little rain.

19th. Every thing for these few days past very quiet, till this morning, when the Abuna sent to the Gas, to demand the estates belonging to the priests of Kudus Michael, Kudus Gabriel, and Axum, which made the priests begin to murmur against the Abuna. This much pleased the Gas



and other chiefs, because those priests had before taken part with the Abuna against the Gusmati. The whole day very cloudy, and light rains.

20th. The day very rainy. Yesterday Ito Seraphel, who formerly killed Ito Dimsu, and the son of Ito Guebra Mudda, fought a very sharp battle in the district of Mudda, a little distance from Axum. Ito Guebra's son was defeated, but many were killed on both sides.

21st. The whole night and day very rainy and misty.

22nd. The same weather. Scarcely any of the houses called *eddermos* were left standing. *Eddermo* is a flat-topped house, built of clay and stones, and the top of the same, covered over with wood. These *eddermos*, in Adowa, generally stand many years; but the heavy rains of this season made great havoc, and many people have been killed by these dwellings suddenly falling in the night. The clay in Adowa is superior to any in Abyssinia. A wall built of it by Ras Faris, seventy years ago, is still standing, and many other buildings from the time of Ras Michael, fifty years ago, are perfect; while, in Gondar, the earth they have to build with would not last one rainy season. All the houses, therefore, are thatched, and their walls covered with straw on the top.



I remember, about nine years ago, a dreadful deed was committed in Adowa. A man, because his kept mistress refused to see him and lived with another, brought a load of *taff* straw, about midnight, and, after tying the door of the woman's house, placed the load of straw at the door, and set fire to it; in less than ten minutes the whole thatch was on fire, and not a soul escaped; her new acquaintance, herself, her two sisters, with two children each, a servant-boy and girl, in all ten persons, perished. The man who committed this act is now in Adowa. He fled to Walkayt during the life of Ras Welled Selassé, but returned at his death.

23rd. The weather still very misty, with small rain; the *taff* and all other grain, excepting beans and the grain called *daguxo*, are generally damaged by the wet weather.

Great disturbances have again taken place between the priests and the Abuna, on account of his claiming a right to their land.

24th. The weather still very wet and misty.

To-day an old woman died whom I have known for many years past as a beggar, both in Enderta, Amhara, and Tigré, with scarcely a rag to cover her; about three hours before her death, she gave her father confessor, in the presence of her neighbours, eighty-two *wakeahs* of gold, and five dol-



lars for her *toscar*, or *fettart*. I have often said that the Abyssinians in general will go naked and hungry during their life-time, to save money for the priests, or *toscar*, after they are dead. When the inhabitants heard of her leaving so much money for the benefit of her soul, there were as many assembled at her cry in the market-place, as if she had been the daughter or wife of a king.

25th. This morning the sun appeared for about two hours; it was afterwards cloudy for the remainder of the day, with little rain.

26th. The priests, in incredible numbers, assembled at the Abuna's; and, after a long debate, they frightened him, by saying, they would not allow that he was a proper patriarch from Alexandria, but that he was sent merely by Mohammed Ali, from Egypt. Seeing them so enraged, he complied with their wishes, and in an artful way said, "I have been mistaken in looking over the accounts of the Abuna's districts." Thus the priests carried the day, though the Gas had been obliged to yield.

The whole day very dark and cold, but no rain.

27th. The day as yesterday, till evening, when thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, came on, and lasted till midnight, such dreadful storms often happening at the conclusion of the rains.



28th. The whole day very clear and hot.

29th. The forenoon clear; in the afternoon rain, thunder, and lightning.

30th. Clear and windy, no rain.

Pogme the 1st. The first day of the five odd days at the year's end. This is the year of St. Luke; the years of St. Luke, St. Matthew, and St. Mark, have all five odd days; that of St. John, which is the next year, is the leap-year, and has six odd days. Several people fast, but it is not a regular custom; they also bathe on all these days. A hot sun, and no rain the whole day.

2nd. The same weather. I afforded fine diversion to many hundreds of the inhabitants, men and girls, by going with the Gas's soldiers to swim; as my white skin among one hundred or more black ones, swimming together, drew all the girls and even the old women to see it. I often went to swim at a great distance from the town, and had I known that I should have drawn the attention of the working-people to see me on this occasion, I should not have been persuaded to strip so near the town; though, as it is a general custom in all parts of Abyssinia on these days, it did not occur to me that I should be the cause of so much merriment.

3rd. This is the holyday Kudus Raphael; all persons of every class, and of both sexes, bathe



or wash themselves at home. The forenoon very hot; a brisk shower of rain in the afternoon.

4th. Heavy clouds, but no rain.

5th. Very clear and hot.

September 1st. New year's day, and the holyday and feast of Kudus Yohannis, or St. John the Baptist: the weather like the foregoing day. On this day the boys and girls gather flowers to make nosegays, and take them to the higher sort of people with whom they are acquainted, for which they in general receive some small present, or have something given them to eat and drink, similar to the new-year's gifts in England. The unsettled state which the country has been in for these three years, does not permit them to carry on their diversions, as I formerly remember them. Every one, both old and young, washes in the river at midnight, and all the mules and horses are washed in the forenoon.

2nd. In the night a servant came to me from the Gas Ischias, and told me that his master had sent for me: being in hopes that he was going to order me some provisions, I set out immediately, and we reached Arder Serat, where he was in his own premises. I was greatly surprized to find him in the midst of all his troops feasting: he had killed eleven cows, and every one appeared to have had his full share of maize. He ordered



broiled meat to be brought to me, and we sat drinking until near midnight.

3rd. He called me a little after cock-crow, and told me that he was going to give battle to Guebra Michael, and was sure God would give him his father's dominions. He also told me, that if I would serve him, and he prospered, he would be a father to me. I told him, that if he would give me wages and provisions, "I would die before him"—the common saying in this country—with several other boastful words; when he gave me a dark bay horse of his own, and promised that, if he gained the victory, he would give me good pay\*. Soon after day-light, five cows were killed, and we began to be merry with maize, the soldiers coming by turns boasting, in the way of the country. In the afternoon we left Arder Serat, and encamped on a wild spot, between that place and Zonze. In the evening we had a light shower of rain; the rains being nearly quite over.

\* I am afraid there is not much to be said in favour of poor Pearce, for this sudden and unprovoked desertion of Guebra Michael, from whom, for a long time, he appears to have received much kindness and protection. Some allowance must undoubtedly be made for the roving habits he had acquired during the distracted state of the country; but, after all, it will, perhaps, be more charitable to attribute his ingratitude to the temporary effects of the maize and good cheer, than to any natural treachery in his disposition.—*Editor.*



4th. The Gas Guebra Michael had received information of the Gas Ischias's intention to take him unawares, while his troops were in the country places, collecting their wages, &c.: he had therefore sent and called them nearly all in, and we were greatly surprised to hear that he had this morning left Adowa with the design of surrounding the Gas Ischias, and great fear began to appear in our small camp, as we had not a larger force than three thousand spears and one hundred matchlock-men. However, the Gas put us in as good a position as he could, and we kept a sharp look-out all night. When we saw the fires of the Temben army, on the slope of the mountain, on the opposite side of the plain, I found that every soldier in our camp was struck with dread; and they put out all their fires, for fear of their being seen and serving as guides to Guebra's army in the night. I now began to think of my folly; the Tembans were more than twenty thousand spearmen, and nearly one thousand matchlocks; yet, notwithstanding this great superiority, the Gas Ischias was determined to give battle in the situation we held, which was a small mountain, on one side very steep and impassable, and on the other a plain. The Gas Ischias said to his men, "Be brave, I dreamt that God had given me the whole of Ras Michael's dominions."



5th. Very early we saw the Temben army descending to the plain; we placed the matchlocks in the spot we thought likely to be first attempted by the horse, and our spearmen in such positions as we thought best. In about an hour the Fit-aurari of the Tembans came close, and made an attempt to drive us, but he was repulsed with great loss. He then remained quiet until the main army came up; Safu, brother of the Gas Guebra, came on one side, with more than eight thousand, and the Gas himself with about the same number, on the other side, while the Fit-aurari again began the attack in our front. As soon as the shouting and firing commenced, our army began to fly in all directions, and we were left with not more than a hundred with the Gas Ischias. We kept on firing, until they had fairly surrounded us. The Gas Ischias then said, "We will make a push through the Fit-aurari, and those whom God takes out clear he takes." Having loaded my gun and pistol again, I first fired at them, and then put my horse to full gallop right through them, and firing the second time, my horse rode over one or two, and got clear through them, with about fifteen of the foremost horsemen. We never stopped till we reached Axum, where no one could touch us, but they chased us even within the church walls. The



Gas Ischias was taken in the beginning of our attempt to break through the Fit-aurari.

6th. I remained at the house of an old Greek, whom I have before mentioned.

7th. My servant, who had been taken and stripped of all, but luckily not used barbarously, having fallen into the hands of some acquaintances, came to me and brought me my things and provisions from Adowa, as I dared not venture out of Axum.

From the 8th to the 15th, I never ventured out of the Greek's house, which is in the church-yard.

16th. A day of great merriment; people of all classes tie round the head a piece of a rough running kind of plant called *sunnar*; which signifies that the rains are completely over, the corn nearly ripe, and that rejoicing will follow.

17th. Mascal, or holy cross, the greatest holiday in the whole year. The boys and girls, at midnight, in every part, begin to flock in gangs, singing and going about the town with a long bundle of dried sticks, lighted in the shape of a torch, called *shig*; the men also light these *shig* torches and run into one another's houses, crying, "*ankkerver*, &c." the meaning of which is "All bad things have gone out and good ones are coming in." In peaceable times, this is the day



that all rent, taxes, &c., are received, and that all offices and posts are changed. All chiefs shew themselves this day with their army, before their governor, as at a review; those the governor is pleased with he promotes; and those who have not given him satisfaction he displaces, and puts others in their stead.

The Gas Guebra Michael dismissed the sons of Bashaw Abdalla, the heads of the custom-house at Adowa, and placed Woldi Gorgis and Mohammed Kier in their stead.

18th, 19th, and 20th. I still remained at Axum, and this morning I received a letter and some eye-salve from Mr. Forbes, of Bombay; he having been apprized that I was afflicted with a weakness in my eyes. I immediately wrote an answer, and also wrote to Mr. Salt, at Cairo, by the same opportunity.

21st. About midday the Gas Guebra Michael's servant came to Axum, with his master's decree, in which he stated, before the high-priest, that all were forgiven who had rebelled against him, and were under the protection of the churches at Axum.

22nd. Eight of us set out, and we reached the Gas's house at Adowa, just as the table was spreading for a meal. The servant told his master of our arrival, who ordered us in; my seven



companions with large stones about their necks, and their faces to the ground, in which posture they remained for some time. The moment he saw me, he ordered me close to him, seated me on the same couch with him, and said, "Was not I your first friend? How came you to leave me for Ischias?" After I had made several excuses, he said, "The times are enough to make an angel change, much more men," and he ordered the others to take the stones from their necks, and said he had forgiven them\*. Indeed I seemed a greater favourite than ever, and he himself crammed the victuals into my mouth, till I was more than satisfied. He said to me, while we were drinking, "If you had not broken first through the Fit-aurari, not a soul would have escaped."

After I had left the Gas for my lodgings, I found a servant of Agge Said, who had been to Cairo with a letter, and who informed me that his master had arrived at Massowa and had brought a box for me. I immediately wrote to Mr. Salt,

\* There is something so dignified and generous in the conduct of Guebra Michael on this occasion, and so different from what might have been anticipated from the general practice of his countrymen, that one is almost disposed to regret that an abler and more warlike chief, in the person of Subegadis, was ultimately destined to obtain that eminent situation in the country, for which Guebra had so gallantly contended.—*Editor.*



and desired the man to send me back the letter which I wrote from Axum, if it had not left Massowa before he arrived. I had mentioned very strongly how unhappy I was at not having heard from Mr. Salt for so long a time.

23rd. After I had dispatched my letter to Mr. Salt and my servant to Massowa, I went to the Gas to dinner, and he received me as kindly as yesterday : indeed I became a complete Balermal. While we were eating, several messengers and spies arrived, informing the Gas that Subegadis was encamped in Arramat, the Gas Woldi Raphael at Gambela, in Enderta, Ito Barrier in Saharte, and Ito Arriah at Gibba, all intending to destroy Temben. After the Gas had heard this, he ordered his house to be cleared, and I went home, where I had not been long before I heard the town-drum beating, to order all to be ready to march to-morrow early.

24th. I went very early to the Gas's, and found him just getting upon his mule. On seeing me, he asked me if I had got my mule, which he had ordered to be returned to me, and which was taken in the late battle. I told him I had not ; he immediately ordered it to be brought and given to me in his presence. This friendly action made me eager to go with him to war ; but, before I had time to tell him so, he said, "Pearce, stop at



Adowa ; I have ordered you four *interlams* of corn" [thirty-two bushels English]. "If you go with me and I am defeated, your blood will be upon my head, and I know you love the Ras's relations." I went with him to the camp at Seaser, where I stopped for the night.

24th. The Gas Guebra Michael had sent for the Gas Ischias, in the night, and released him from chains, upon his swearing to be true for the future. After I had accompanied the army for a short distance, on their march from Seaser, I returned, and went to pay my respects to my old master Ischias. He caught hold of me round the neck, and said, kissing me, "God dealt badly with us ;" after which I went home and the Gas Ischias went to Arder Serat. He had already collected a great body of men.

26th. I employed myself in shooting birds and skinning them.

27th. I went about the country in search of plants and birds.

28th. I remained at home.

29th. The holyday of the beauty and deeds of Abba Garimur. I went with the townspeople to meet the altar, and to accompany it to the church Kudus Michael.

30th. I went to Axum, and returned in the evening.



From October the 1st to the 5th I never stirred out of my house, owing to a great illness among the townspeople, arising from colds, which are common in these two months; great numbers died every day, and I shammed sick, that I might not attend the cries with my neighbours.

6th. A relation of my old friend Ozoro Wolleta Raphael died, and I could not help going to her cry, though I pretended in her presence to be very ill.

7th. The *coflas* from Gondar and Walkayt arrived, at least such of them as had passed on *onquors*.

8th and 9th. I staid at home. 10th. I went to Deverer Siner, where I stayed till the 17th, shooting birds and seeking plants. I returned to Adowa in the evening, and found that the illness was much abated. In most parts of Abyssinia the people sow Indian corn and plant pumpkins round their houses, in the beginning of June. The pumpkins run and cover their huts and houses, and the Indian corn grows thick about their abodes, which I think may help to create sickness.

18th. The Gas Guebra Michael is encamped at Howzane, in Giralta; Gas Woldi Raphael at Gambela, in Enderta; Ito Barrier at Salora, and Subegadis at Arramat. All seem to be at a loss what to begin with.



19th. I went about the country in search of birds, though I had little success, having nothing but a pistol to shoot with, my old gun having burst.

20th, 21st, and 22nd. Employed in repairing my house, some part of which had fallen down.

23rd. I set out to go a-hunting, before day-light, but I had not got a quarter of a mile from the town, when I saw the fires of a *cofla* on the Mas-sowa road. I went to enquire for news, and happy I was to find my servant, with the box, &c., from Mr. Salt. I returned home with it, but had much ado to persuade the new custom-house officers to let it be carried to my house without paying duty. I immediately answered Mr. Salt's letter, the *coflas* from Walkayt and Gondar being ready to start.



## CHAPTER XXI.

Pearce resolves to leave Abyssinia—Tringo insists on accompanying him—Their Secret Departure—They are detained on the road—Debbib—Particulars concerning Subegadis—Stratagem to save a Dinner—Altercation with Shum Hummar—Kind Reception of the Travellers by the Kaimakan of Massowa—Voyage to Jidda—Mr. Searwell—Voyage from Jidda up the Red Sea to Rabak.

Ocr. 25th. News arrived that Subegadis had plundered some villages on the Massowa road, which had put a stop to the *coflas* quitting, so I was obliged to give a man two dollars to take my letter to Massowa, and bring me back an answer from Agge Said, to whom he was to deliver it. From Adowa to Massowa and back, the usual pay of a courier is two dollars; but they are bound to go with all speed, being generally fourteen days backward and forward. From Gondar to Massowa the pay is three dollars; this journey takes twenty-three or twenty-four days, there and back.

Scarcely had the messenger left me a quarter of an hour, when a *negade*, who had arrived after the *cofla* by which Mr. Salt's letter came, brought me a letter from the Kaimakan of Massowa. In



this letter he informed me that he had orders from Jidda to see me safe through, and to give me all the assistance I might want to forward me to Jidda.

At first I was at a loss to know what to do, as he wrote, "If you come quickly, you will be in time for the *dow* that is to sail the 15th of the next month." At last I came to a resolution, and was determined to set out that very evening, having provisions packed up, and every thing ready for a journey, which I was on the point of making elsewhere. I immediately employed people to carry my provisions, and told them my intentions, after swearing them not to divulge them. My wife Tringo, to whom I had been married eleven years, and who was now in her native town, where her parents and friends resided, on seeing me determined to depart, began to grow serious, and asked to speak to me in some place where she could not be heard by any one else. Accordingly we went out, under a tree, where she burst into a flood of tears, and said, "If you leave me behind, I shall never be happy." I said, "How is it possible you can go? Your grandmother, brothers and sisters, &c., will never give ear to any such thing. They said, the day before yesterday, when I told you in their presence that I should take you with me,



that I only wanted to get you to Massowa and sell you." "Never mind that," said she, "I shall be happier as your slave than as my mother's child. Don't let a word be spoken, and I will manage well enough to get clear with you out of the town, unknown to any; after which you know best yourself what to do." After we had agreed what it would be best to do to prevent our being separated, we went into our lodgings, and, making every thing ready, we sent for one Ito Dimsu, and Workey, whom I knew I could trust, and Tringo sent for her father-confessor, paid for her sins, and, making all clear with the holy father, she came with him to me; and whatever money and articles she had, or which might be in the hands of her relations, she divided and left between her two sisters and brother, Workey, Wover, and Philippus. The old priest was to be the witness, and Workey and Dimsu were to divide the property. We had now nothing to think of but starting, without giving the least alarm to the Gusmati Guebra Michael's servants, who were near our lodgings, and would certainly have made me a prisoner.

About an hour after dark, when all our neighbours were asleep, we set out. My people, on being promised good pay at Massowa, travelled with all possible speed: even the young boy and



girl, who were servants to Tringo, would not remain quiet at home, but ran after us, and could not be persuaded to return when I insisted upon their so doing. They said, they were afraid of the wild beasts, and would return next day by daylight. Finding all my attempts to prevail on them to return in vain, I suffered them to remain with me, and, leaving the regular road, kept on to the left. About midnight we passed between the mountains Ri-ho, leaving Yaronour and Gundufta to the left.

One of my men being an excellent guide, we kept on with all possible speed, and never stopped till we came to the river Munnai; where, after resting a little, we again set out at daylight, October 26th, and in about three hours reached Kella, the regular place for the *coflas* to stop, and where they pay a duty. In the night we passed through the district Kella Sumerhe, without giving the least alarm, nor indeed did any of the country-people, who were in the fields attending to their corn, appear to notice us.

About the river Angweyer the people would not let us pass, saying, I was running away with a Christian woman and girl, to sell them at Mas-sowa, which made me quarrel with my servant, whom I had cautioned not to let us be seen, and who had promised that no notice should be taken



of us. Being so few in number, our situation now began to be dangerous ; and we were afraid lest the relations of Tringo and the Gusmati's soldiers should come up with us. We were detained till the evening, when the son of the head man of the customs was placed in charge of us for the night. I soon got into discourse with him, and, shortly after dark, I settled with him for our escape ; after I had given him what we had agreed upon, he and his men lay down and pretended to be asleep, and we left Moi Enkurquor, and travelled with all speed, through the worst of roads, thorns, and bushes, and never stopped till we were obliged, by suddenly coming into the midst of a gang of corn-cutters at Dambar Eik, who insisted upon our giving them something. We pretended that we were the Abuna's people, and got past with giving them some *martabs*, strings of blue silk, worn round the neck of Christians, and again proceeded, leaving the regular road on our left.

At day-light, October 27th, we arrived at Logo, leaving Lower Logo on our left ; here again we were obliged to make a present.

We rested a little at the river Seremai, and again set out, through the burning plain of Logo and Arver, leaving the town of Arver, formerly the residence of Baharnegash Subhart, about ten miles on our left. About three in the afternoon



we arrived at Amba Barraar, where we were obliged to pay for our water and lodgings, which as a traveller I never before experienced in Abyssinia. Here we refreshed ourselves, and extracted the thorns from our feet. From Adowa our course lay to the north-east.

28th. After about half an hour's debate with the people, who wanted to impose upon me for my lodgings, I left Amba Barraar, our feet being very sore, and my mule so tired that it could scarcely advance, when carrying Tringo only, which arose from the poor animal not having tasted any thing but a little dry straw, since we left Adowa. About midday we came to Adefuxte, where we rested, and my mule got his fill of good grass, while we baked our *berenter* and ate our dinners; after which we again set out, and, ascending a very steep mountain, we arrived, at dark, at a town called Cultuffa, where I found a friend and relation of my old friend Debbib. He behaved well, like his countrymen; that is, he gave me every thing we wanted for money. Here we heard of my friend Debbib being defeated in a battle, but, I was happy to learn, not against his credit. Debbib is in the service of Subegadis, who has given him several large districts, among which is Kantiva Carlan, which belonged to Guebra Amlac, eldest son of Kantiva



Carlan, and Solomon, son of Kantiva Zerrihannis, brother to Kantiva Carlan. Subegadis gave his daughter to Guebra Amlac, some months ago, but, on his turning treacherous and becoming a servant of the Gas Guebra Michael, Subegadis gave his districts to Debbib. Subegadis having left Debbib to watch the motions of Guebra Amlac and Solomon, while he marched close to the Temben army, Guebra Amlac attacked Debbib, who beat him and drove him, the two following days, clear out of the district; when Debbib's enemies, Kantiva Sasinas and Amder Mariam, son of Baharnegash Subhart, came to Guebra Amlac's assistance, and the third battle took place: but, being overpowered by numbers, Debbib was obliged to fly, but greatly to his credit; as, of Guebra Amlac's division, thirty-nine were killed and forty-four wounded, and of Debbib's thirteen only killed and seven wounded. Debbib lost but seven matchlocks, though he had taken twelve from Amlac. The two foregoing days, Debbib's village was burnt. In the mean time, Angus and Woldi Michael, sons of Subegadis, had stormed the Temben camp by night, and had taken several horses and matchlocks, besides bringing nearly two hundred trophies to their father, which made the Gas Guebra Michael retreat, and Subegadis followed him to the borders



of Temben. Arriah, who was also with Subegadis\*, burnt Devu, a town in the borders of Temben, on the Saharte road. We also heard that the soldiers of the Gas and Tringo's relations had pursued us to Kella, where I was detained, but they were

\* This being the last time that the name of this very distinguished chieftain, now Ras of Tigré, occurs in the Journal, it may not be amiss to give some account of a man, who appears destined to effect many considerable alterations in the government and general situation of his country. At the time that my friend, Mr. Salt, visited Abyssinia, in 1809-10, Subegadis, then a young man, had begun to distinguish himself by his enterprise and ability, and had made so great an impression on the sagacious mind of Mr. Salt, that I well remember his informing me, on his return to England, that, in the event of the death of the old Ras, Subegadis was the man who would ultimately succeed him, though at that time he was of small account in the country, either from his influence or his power; but the district he commanded, though of trifling extent, was one of very difficult access, and easily defended by the small band of hardy and well disciplined mountaineers, which he had carefully collected around him, against the attacks of even very formidable numbers. Brave, intelligent, and indefatigable, he was a constant terror to the most warlike and powerful of his adversaries, and even to the Ras himself; and though somewhat stained with the cruelty and ferocity of his countrymen, he nevertheless possessed a large share of that frankness and generosity which rendered him the idol of his followers and the favourite of the multitude. Under these circumstances, and with such qualifications, he rapidly rose to notice and consequence, and, at the death of Ras Welled Selassé, he soon succeeded, in the general scramble that ensued, in raising himself to an equality with the most distinguished chieftains, and eventually triumphed over them all.

Subegadis is in stature about five feet ten inches, broad-shouldered, and his whole frame partaking of that iron-like and sinewy character, which denotes the true child of the hills, and enables him to endure, without inconvenience, the most arduous exertions, and the severest privations. He has often been known



not informed of our having passed till the day after: so we had a whole night's start of them, and perhaps went faster than they.

October 29th. After satisfying my acquaintance, I left Cultuffa, and going, nearly in a north

to journey, on foot, through the most difficult and mountainous districts, from seventy to eighty miles in a day; and, though an indifferent horseman, he is thus enabled to elude or surprise the most formidable forces, even when assisted by a numerous cavalry. His countenance is handsome, a little inclining to the Roman; his teeth are white and regular; his hair is jet black and in profusion; and, which is very remarkable in the country, his large, expressive, and penetrating eye is of a dark grey; his complexion, as well as that of his family, is very fair for an Abyssinian, and indeed he sometimes makes it his boast that he is descended from white people, a circumstance which the great antiquity of his race renders by no means improbable.

From the nature of his career, the habits of his life had not been remarkably distinguished for morality: but, a little while before Mr. Coffin left the country, when he became settled in his government, he took a serious turn upon religious subjects, dismissed all his wives, with a handsome provision, except the daughter of Hilier Mariam, whom he had recently married, and received the sacrament, at the church in Axum, upon his promise of remaining faithful to her—observing that it was time to think seriously on such important matters. Notwithstanding this change in his sentiments, he is far from being, what is termed, priest-ridden, and he is, indeed, the only chieftain who has been able to curb effectually the insolence and cupidity of the rascally Abuna, so often mentioned in the present Journal as the great affliction and scourge of Abyssinia. The last accounts received from that country left Subegadis preparing for his march to Gondar, to establish his power in that quarter of the empire, and, as nearly all the principal chiefs in that neighbourhood are dead and their armies dispersed or without experienced leaders, it is more than probable that, before this time, he has accomplished his purpose, or perhaps placed himself on the throne.  
—*Editor.*



direction, we went through the town of Hurret, and kept on till we came to Mardar, where we stopped on the river side, and baked our *berenter*, and ate our dinner while my mule took his fill of good grass. Tringo now began to be in good spirits; from the time we had left Adowa, she had scarcely eaten any thing, from her wish to lose no time in proceeding and her fear of being overtaken. I here bought a sheep, but agreed to go farther on to eat it. The people here were all preparing to go to Debbib's assistance.

We left Mardar, and in about an hour we came to Darhar, where we killed our sheep by the water side: the people who were cutting corn about us, seeing what we were doing, formed into a gang of more than fifteen, to come and take part with us; but I was determined that those hungry rascals should not devour our meat, as we had not tasted any since we left Adowa. I, therefore, had recourse to a stratagem, which fully answered my purpose. Calling Taclu, my servant, by the name of Abdalla, I ordered him to bring me a skin, which he spread before me, and, after washing myself, I put myself in a posture, like the Mussulmans, for praying, and cried out *Alla Achar!* and immediately called out, "Abdalla, make haste and wash the paunch, and cut it up." Our uninvited guests, hearing



this, said, "We are mistaken; these are Mussulmans," and retired to their work, leaving us to eat our sheep in comfort.

We again set out, and, travelling as fast as possible in a north direction, reached Alli a little after sunset. I lodged with my acquaintance Baharnegash Kefla Isge, who gave me a sheep and milk: my hunger being satisfied before this, I wished to sleep a little; but I could not, on account of boys and girls flocking round me, to see a civet-cat, that I had brought with me purposely to give to the earl of Mountnorris\*. The cold here was nearly insupportable, for my bare feet had been so burned in the hot plain of Logo, that they were much chapped.

October 30th. I left Alli very early, in the coldest weather I ever experienced. I held my shield to the side of my face the wind blew on, and my feet were so benumbed that I scarcely had any feeling in them. We descended the Taranta in about two hours, when we had as much reason to complain of heat as we had before of cold.

At Choucumpite I was met by Shum Hummar, who, although my countenance was much disfigured since he last saw me, knew me immediately, as well as his brothers. He seemed

\* This is no doubt "the little animal" mentioned in Pearce's will.—*Editor*.



highly pleased, and asked me if I remembered what had happened between him and me, near the spot where we were then sitting: to which I answered, "Why should I forget it, any more than you?" He said, "You were the offender, and wanted to shoot me." I replied, "No, you were the offender, and wanted to impose upon strangers." After disputing for some time, during which he frequently hinted that I was now alone and had no fire-arms, he said, he would not allow his relations to take satisfaction as they wanted, and observed that Mr. Salt, with Baharnegash Yasous, had made a new road from Digan, which might have been very hurtful to them, if the Negades had followed their example. "You also once made a new road through the Taltal, and I assure you such doings have created you many enemies here, and if we choose to take satisfaction there is now no Ras Welled Selassé to prevent us." After touching me upon all points, I jumped up, with my back against the rock, drew my knife, and, with my shield and a well loaded pistol in my left hand, said, "Who wants satisfaction? Begin and take it;" and I assured them that nothing would please me more. Shum Hummar began to be quite calm, and said to his people, "Although this man has been almost dead with disease, he is as hotheaded as ever;



let us reason with him quietly and not bring up old quarrels." Shum Hummar begged I would sit down, to which I agreed, but, being suspicious, I sat with my back against the rocks, at a small distance, till we had sworn to forget all the past. It was now agreed that I should pass according to standing customs, which is, to take a guide thence to Massowa, for which they said I should pay ten dollars. This I swore I would not, and would give no more than one dollar, to which they at last consented. I now begged Shum Hummar to give me a guide who would take me the road to Zulla, which he pretended he could not do without my giving him better pay; however, I agreed, if he would show me the stone on the road, that he had mentioned to Mr. Salt, with an inscription, I would give him my cloth, which I then wore, worth three dollars. This I gave him, and we set out; in the evening we came to Assuba, where we stayed for the night.

November 1st. We left Assuba before daylight, and passed Tubbo and Mantar Seglar, where we stopped to eat and wash our clothes. Mantar Seglar takes its name from two large trees of that name, standing together. About three o'clock in the afternoon we left Mantar Seglar, and at dark came to Hamhammo, where we stayed for the night.



November 2nd. We filled our skins with water, and set out with a caravan of bullocks, laden with corn, from Hamazen to Zulla, for salt, which had encamped for the night close by us. Before day-light, we had entered the hot and desert plain of Zulla. The stone which Shum Hummar's man shewed me was no relic of antiquity, but merely a rough large stone, with triangles cut upon its face, apparently done by shepherds, or people of the caravans who trade for salt at Zulla, in three places almost imperceptible. I kept on in the same road, in a north-east direction, looking for remains of antiquity, but none could I find.

My guide told me, he dared not take me into the town of Zulla, without the Nayib being informed first; we therefore struck immediately through the plain to the left, nearly in a north-west direction, until we came, just at dark, to Weah, the last place for water in going to Massowa, or Arkeeks. Here I found several people of the town of Zulla, who all spoke good Tigré, and told me that there were no ancient stones in the town, but, about sixteen or seventeen years ago, they said, Nayib Eddris took away two stones, in a *gelvar* or *dow*, to Massowa, which are now lying on the point called Grar, opposite to the island of Massowa. Zulla is nearly as



large as Arkeeks, and consists of square thatched huts, like that town.

November 3rd. I left Weah very early, taking sufficient water for the day. About noon we stopped in the barren plain of Shillokee, where we had no other shelter from the sun than a tree, called *surro*, without a leaf upon it: however, we hung up a cloth and took our dinner comfortably. As soon as the day began to get a little cool, we set out, and, in about two hours, arrived at Arkeeks. Here the Nayib took my mule, according to custom, but he gave me a sheep and some victuals. I could not remain at this place for the night, but set out for Massowa, where the Turkish Kaimakan received me very kindly, and gave me two sheep, a bag of rice, and a jar of butter. I took lodgings, but scarcely had I been settled two hours, when I was seized with a fever and rheumatic pains, and Tringo was so much fatigued that she could scarcely prepare me any nourishment. However, in a few days, I began to get better, after blistering my thighs in several places; the only remedy I could find for the rheumatism. The ointment for the blisters Mr. Salt had sent me, with the medicines which he had forwarded to me last year, and very useful I found it.

Provisions being very dear, I paid off my men,



and endeavoured to obtain a passage for Jidda. The miserable inhabitants, who possessed a *dow*, although they knew that I had no money, and had heard of my misfortunes in Abyssinia, of my having been plundered and stripped naked, and notwithstanding the intreaties of the Kaimakan not to overcharge me, would not give me a passage, with Tringo and her girl, under fifty dollars; the rascals also said that my civet-cat took up as much room as a man. This made me almost determine to return again into Abyssinia, and restore Tringo to her relations. However, the Kaimakan, who is a good old man, brought these extortioners down, for passage by water, &c., to thirty dollars, which he said was twenty too much; but, as he declared he had no power in such affairs, he could do nothing in it. The money I was to borrow and pay at Jidda. I was also obliged to buy an Arab dress for myself, and for Tringo and her girl. Currum Chund, the Banian, supplied my servants in these respects.

The boat I had agreed to go in was about ten tons burthen, no deck, and but badly rigged; however, I thought it better to go in her than to wait, perhaps two months, for another opportunity, at Massowa, where provisions were very dear. The day before we went on board, Tringo's brother and several others arrived, with intent to



get her back, but to no purpose ; when they entreated her to return, she positively refused, and as we were out of Abyssinia, no force could be used : so they parted, crying and praying, after the Abyssinian custom. A very heavy shower of rain fell this day ; it filled the whole of the tanks on the island, and greatly comforted the inhabitants.

November 15th. After taking leave of the Kaimakan and the owner of my lodgings, I went on board the boat after dark ; we amounted in number, boat's-people, passengers, and slaves, to twenty-nine—five women slaves, and three boy slaves, one Mahomedan passenger, besides me, Tringo, her girl, and Agge Said, a Nockader, two captains, two pilots, and eleven boatmen.

November 16th. We got under weigh before daylight ; our course, until we got round the point that forms the harbour, was N. E. ; we afterwards bore away, the wind blowing S. E. fresh ; our course due N. along the shore, distance about four miles. About three in the afternoon we passed the islands Darbude, Harrerat, and Sheik Darbu, about three miles to the E. of us, and in the evening, just at dark, made the islands Enterussula and Defferneen. We altered our course from N. to N. N. W., to keep



clear of them. In the night our course was N. a little W., with light winds.

Towards the morning of the 17th, a light westerly wind blew from the shore; our course lay N.; about mid-day the wind was S. E., and very fresh; we changed our sail for a smaller. At sun-set, the wind still fresh and a heavy sea, we were obliged to haul upon the wind; the whole of the slaves, as well my companions, were sea-sick, and every thing disagreeable. We luckily fetched an anchorage under the lee of a reef, that ran from the shore in a N. E. direction; we came to anchorage in one fathom and a half water, very smooth, though the wind was still hard. This anchorage is formed by two reefs; the entrance is very narrow, but it is a very safe anchorage for small craft. The northernmost reef runs from the shore in a S. E. direction. The coasters have made three piles of stones on the shore, at an equal distance from each other, to be a guide to all vessels that are obliged by heavy winds to come-to. At midnight the wind abated, and the sea soon became calm. They have no other name for this place than Merser anchorage.

18th. Light winds from the S. W.; we got under weigh, and steered out between the reefs, E.; we again bore up and stood N. in the



forenoon, wind S. E. and stiff; course the same. About mid-day we made the islands of Arkeck, called Dezaner Ageeg; after getting round them we hauled to the wind, which blew about S. by E., very fresh. We changed our sail for the small one, and hauled close by the wind, but did not fetch in without a tack between the mosque and the town. I went on shore immediately, to buy some food, but I found nothing but ostrich-eggs and fish; indeed the people are all in a state of starvation themselves.

Arkeck is well known to be a miserable place; there were a great number of tame ostriches on the island belonging to the inhabitants. It pays thirty dollars per year to the Kaimakan of Suakin, as the traders from about Allangy and Sennaar sometimes bring their slaves hither instead of going to Suakin, though the duty is the same as at the latter place and Massowa, which is five dollars per head to the Kaimakan, and one and a half to the Nayib or native Sheik. A great quantity of ostrich feathers are exported from this place to Jidda.

We got under weigh at day-light, the 19th, the wind S. W. and light breeze, and stood out of Arkeck, steering N. E. by N., between the islands Ageeg and Gouban. The wind came from the S. E., our course N. N. E. A little after sun-



rise the wind blew fresh from E. by N., we hauled close to the wind, but lay no nearer than N. and by E. After we were out of sight of the low land on the coast, we passed to the windward of two small islands, called Aggrave; the northernmost has a pile of stones and coral built upon it, like a small spire, which is seen at a great distance, and long before the low sandy islands themselves appear. This was built by coasters as a beacon for them in passing a long sandy bank, that appears to be at a great distance from the point of the island on which it stands. After standing close to the wind, the whole day, course N. by E., we bore up in the evening due W., the Roban and Nockader being afraid to keep at sea all night. Just at dark we hauled upon the wind, to N. and by W., till we had got round a reef of coral rock, that runs out to a great distance from an island, called Tummorshar. We then hauled aft our sheet and lay up, close-hauled, N. by E. half E., and, getting under the lee of the reef, we came to an anchor.

Tummorshar is a small island, not more than a mile and a half in circumference; it is surrounded by reefs of coral rocks, and is a very dangerous anchorage for the smallest vessels. At the west end there is a rock as high as any part of the island: at high water it is parted, and appears



like two islands, but at low water the sand between them is dry. In the night the wind blew due N., and very fresh, the reef ahead gave us shelter, and we lay in smooth water, though the surf broke desperately over it. This island is very thickly covered with bushes, and different kinds of sea-fowl are very numerous. The people of Arkeck send goats upon it to breed, though there is no water, nor any one to look after them. The Nockader of the boat told me that the chief of Arkeck sent five she-goats and one he-goat upon this island, which in three years produced a great number, but very wild and only fit for killing. Immediately on leaving this island no land is in sight, except mountains due north, which we saw at sun-set, before we came to.

20th. Wind very strong from the N.; we bent the small sail and got under weigh to return to Arkeck, our boat not being able to stand the sea. We bore away before the wind, and went fast through the water; course S. by W. In about three hours and a half we passed the island Dezazer Arcies, about two miles to the E. of us. This island takes its name from a low point, running off the main-land, opposite to it, called Arcies. In about an hour and a half we came within sight of an island, called Ammarat, on our



starboard bow, bearing S. W. We hauled up to the eastward, with the wind a little abaft the beam, to get clear of the point of the main, called Ras Shacap; we afterwards bore away S. and by W., between the island Gouban and the main, and being in smooth water we came to an anchorage about three o'clock in the afternoon, when we hauled our boat close to the beach. Our boat, though deep in the water, only drew three feet and a half. We lay at Arkeck, until the 25th, waiting for a fair wind; on the 23rd we had a heavy shower of rain, which lasted full four hours; and on the 24th another light shower.

On the 25th, we got under weigh at sun-rise, the wind S. S. E., very cloudy. We had scarcely proceeded a mile, round the N. point of the island of Arkeck, when the wind came E., with a little rain; we bore up due W., and a little after we hauled up N. by E., under the lee of the island of Gouban; but bringing up short, or too quick, round the W. sandy point, we stuck fast upon the sand, after gathering in the sails. We were easily shoved off by three or four men. When safely anchored we placed the boat's oars athwartship, from gunwale to gunwale, and spread all the skins we had over them, determined to lie here until the rain abated. Nothing



to be bought here but ostrich eggs, and feathers for trade. We felt more comfortable here, as we caught some fish with lines.

26th. Wind S. E., our *robans* agreed to get under weigh. We steered N. until we cleared the islands, and then shaped our course N. N. E. We had several squalls and but little rain, and bent our small sail six times in the course of two hours. About half an hour afterwards, we made the islands of Enter Ussula and Bar Enter Ussula. These two islands are thus distinguished, Bar Enter Ussula being the farthest at sea, Enter Ussula being nearest the coast. Towards night it fell calm; in the night a light breeze from N. W., our course N. N. E. At sun-set it was perfect calm; about ten a light breeze from the S. E., our course the same; in the evening a calm; in the night light airs of wind from E. which kept our boat going through the water at a slow rate.

28th. Light airs, wind the same; at sunrise we saw the mountains on the Arabian coast, due E. of us, our head N. N. E. We had a light breeze from S. E. and hauled up to N. E. to get closer to the land, but, it being too late to reach an anchorage, we kept along the coast due N. We were within sight of the Gibel Souda, and Ber Shock, or Abba Shok. The latter we in-



tended for our anchorage, but, the wind dying away, we kept our head N. with light E. airs at times, though in general calm.

29th. About midday, we had a breeze from N. W. We ran along the coast until sun-set, and bore up in shore, in the midst of reefs and rocks, and came to an anchor at El Buddha, in smooth water, between the reefs, in one fathom and a half water and sandy bottom.

30th. The wind blew N. E. very fresh: we got under weigh, and, standing to the wind N. by W., until we got the town of Jidda upon our beam, we then tacked, and stood upon our lar-board tack, to get close in shore. We made several tacks, and afterwards out with all our paddles, and pulled to the anchorage between the Tunkeen reefs.

I went on shore immediately, and presenting myself, my wife, and servant, to the Dola, and assuring him they were not slaves, I went to Agge Arabia Jellarni, who, after seeing my passport, received me as kindly as if I had been his own son; I cannot say that Jellarni is an Englishman, because he is not, but he has the highest regard for our nation, and gave me every thing I required; indeed he insisted on my taking more than I wanted. He bought me a pair of shoes, an article I had not worn for many years, and sent



my wife to eat with his women, to whom he gave orders to receive her with the greatest civility. Said Alli would persist for some time that my female companions were slaves, indeed many of the Taggers of Jidda tempted me to sell them. Said Alli may be a good man, as reported, but I saw nothing of it, as he held his tongue when I was required to pay a hundred dollars for the passage of three human beings, a civet-cat, and not more than three hundred-weight of provisions and baggage, to Suez.

I remained at Jidda five days. The day before I was to go on board the *canga* in which I had taken my passage, an English ship arrived, and, being eager to see my countrymen, I went to the landing-place and waited, more than three hours, before the owner, Mr. Searwell, came on shore. I first made a bow to him, and asked if he was an Englishman. He stared at me as he passed, and was quite astonished when I told him I was an Englishman; after looking at my passport, he caught hold of me by the hand and shook it. I went with him to the Dola's, and was of a little service to him as an interpreter. I afterwards went to Jellarni's with him; he then came with me to my lodgings, and, after seeing me in my Abyssinian dress, spear, shield, &c., and the articles I had, he invited me on board his ship:



I went with him, and he paid me the kindest attentions. I staid on board all night, and in the morning went on shore very early, fearing the *canga* would sail, but I was informed she was not to go till the morrow. I had not been long on shore, before Mr. Searwell came to my lodgings, but, as he did not find me within, he waited till I returned. After discoursing some time, I asked him to take a little maize, which he liked much and praised it; he seemed very fond of the horn I gave him to drink out of, and said, "If I thought it would not distress you, I would beg this horn of you." I told him he was welcome to it, and I gave him two other horns, of different animals, and went with him to the boat. He shook hands with me and bade me good by; shortly afterwards the boat came on shore, and I was surprised at that late hour to find that he had sent me half a roasted goose, half a salt hump, some biscuit, and a bottle of brandy. In the morning the boat came again at daylight, just as I was making ready to go on board; Mr. Searwell had sent me six pieces of beef in a keg, five bottles of brandy, six of rum, twelve of beer, twelve of wine, some biscuit, and two tumblers. I was sorry I could not see him again to express my gratitude, but I wrote to that effect.

December 5th. I went on board the *canga*;



she had one hundred and twenty-five pilgrims, passengers on board, of both sexes, some children. The scarcity of boats this year made it almost impossible for one half of the pilgrims to get a passage to Suez, or Cossier, owing to Ibrahim Pacha having pressed all the vessels he met with for his expedition to Loheia and Hodeide.

6th. Early in the morning we got under weigh, with two other *cangas*, a *buglar*, and a *dow*, with a light S. E. wind. Our *canga*, being the fastest sailer, soon ran out of sight of the whole except the *buglar*, our course along the shore at times winding between dangerous reefs. About four o'clock, we hauled in close to the shore, within the reefs. After taking in the sail, we hooked on to the rocks and did not let go the anchor. We had one rope hooked on to the reef ahead, and one to the reef astern: these coasters generally have ropes with large hooks made fast to them purposely to hook on to the reefs, which is thus done. As soon as a vessel has lost her way, a man jumps overboard, with the coil on his shoulder, which he throws off as he swims, and, when hooked on, the people on board haul up to the distance they think fit. This anchoring-place is called Dellamar: on the beach opposite there are about a dozen date-trees, the only things to be seen besides the sandy beach.



7th. We again got under weigh, in company with the *buglar*, wind N.: we hauled close to it, and stood to sea. After getting through many reefs, the wind blew fresher, and a cross-sea running gave the ship a great motion. The whole of the pilgrims were sea-sick; some of them were great men, from Moroecco and Rhodes, but the motion of the boat made all equal. In every part, fore and aft, there was nothing but vomiting, the lower sort dropping their filthy rags, to run to the side: indeed many were naked. Although I and my companions were the only Christians among them, I defended the spot I had agreed for, and kept the wretches from intruding upon us, though they intermixed even with the great men, who had not power enough to prevent them. The wind still fresher; after getting some distance from the shore, we tacked and stood along the land, course N. N. E. wind N. E. We ran in between the long reefs, called Shutfan, and Abba Gad-Gaz, a long reef running, in a direct line, N. and S.: in the middle is a small patch of sand, dry at low water. Soon afterwards we passed between the coast and the small island Arrarmene. Towards evening we came to an anchor, between the coast and a small barren island, with many reefs, called Abba Darer; we had another small island, three miles



N. of us, called Hummo-el-mush ; in the night a light wind from the S. E.

We got under weigh at midnight, with moonlight, and stood N. N. W., until we got clear of the point and reefs called Acbar and Marla ; we then steered N., wind fresher, and ran along shore, between a number of reefs, called Denebe. About midday we passed Rabak, which is reckoned half-way from Jidda to Yambo. Rabak is a town about two miles from the coast. Good water is brought, if wanted, on camels, as well as other supplies for vessels. We had not passed Rabak half an hour, before it became calm, and, shortly afterwards, a N. wind sprung up, when our *roban* bore up for Rabak, as well as our companion the *buglar*. In going into Rabak, in deep water, between two headlands, which are about a mile from each other, our course was due N. N. E. When we came into the bay, and within the northernmost point, we put the helm alee and in sail ; before the vessel had lost her way, she shot with her stern on the sandy beach. The *buglar* did the same, within ten fathoms of us. The vessels being fastened, with their sterns on the beach, a man dropped over the bow, and carried a small graplin a little distance from us, which they hauled taut, to prevent her slipping off ; when the wind freshened : over



our stern we had two and a half fathoms water. The pilgrims from both vessels got on shore, off the bows, to air themselves, and to destroy part of the vermin that infested their garments; it was a curious sight. The people of Rabak brought several asses, laden with water, which was bought by the pilgrims; sheep, although very dear, were also bought at two dollars per head; good dates very cheap. We lay with our head due W.; the town of Rabak bore N. E. by N. about three miles distant.

Except Sheik Brude, to the westward, this is the best harbour I have seen for shipping in the Red Sea. It has numerous creeks for small vessels, and deep water for larger. At sun-set the pilgrims were all ordered on board: three hundred and seventy-three, of both sexes, were counted into the *buglar*: our small *canga*, being deeply laden with coffee, we had but one hundred and twenty-five, and, although we had scarcely room to stir, the *roban* told me that he once took three hundred from Jidda to Yambo. At high water we hauled off, and lay at anchor.\*

\* Throughout the whole of this voyage to Egypt, many names of places occur which I have not been able to find in any map or chart. I have, therefore, kept to Pearce's spelling, which, though probably incorrect, is very likely to give pretty accurately the sound of the words.—*Editor*.



## CHAPTER XXII.

Voyage from Rabak to Suez—Arrival at Cairo—Pearce's Parting from Tringo—Voyage down the Nile—Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni—Continuation of the Voyage.

DECEMBER 9th. We left Rabak at day-light, wind S. E. and steered S. W. out of the bay; when clear, we shaped our course N. by W., and then to the N. W.; we passed Serreck, Couzlanne, Carrare, Ras Wordan, and Mocket. Towards evening, we got into the midst of the numerous and dangerous reefs, very distant from the coast, called Kapt: from Ras Wordan to Ras-el-Emmar, these reefs are all called by that name. At dark, we came to an anchorage between two of them.

10th. We got under weigh, wind N. E. We lay alongshore on our starboard tacks N. N. W. About nine we were between Ras-el-Emmar and the large reef Dukkiack; the wind falling, we made but little way. In the evening, a breeze sprung up from the N. W. We ran between the reefs, off shore, and came to an anchorage called Selegar.



11th. We got under weigh, with a light N. E. breeze, and steered alongshore N. E. by N. About ten o'clock we were between the Gib-el-Ruhunor, and a reef in the open sea called Hur. About an hour afterwards, we made the town of Yambo, the wind due N. and fresh. We were obliged to run in between the reefs and the shore, and came to an anchorage about two miles S. of the town.

12th. We sailed with a N. W. wind, and, by making two tacks, got to the windward of the reefs that lie N. from the small island Abbara. We then bore up, and ran into the harbour S. E. There were about forty vessels there, most of them under the walls; those discharging their corn lay direct under the Dola's window. We immediately landed our pilgrims who were going to Medina, and happy enough I was, for we were swarming with vermin, and no remedy for them. I went on shore first to the Dola, and then to the market and water-pools, which had just then been filled by heavy rains.

Yambo is larger than Jidda, but the most wretched place I ever saw, crowded with beggars and flies. The latter are so thick in the market upon the goods, that you can hardly discern what is under them. Mahommed being so near this place, one would imagine they would take more



pride in it; but I believe, that not only Mahomed, but the devil himself, has given it up. The day before we sailed, a hundred and twenty filthy pilgrims came on board for Suez; and, in the evening, the Dola sent eighteen more beggars to increase our stock. Our *roban* was almost mad, but dared not say a word for his life. At Jidda and this place the pilgrims, who have no money to pay for their passage, are sent on board by the Dola, and the captain is obliged to give them a passage and provisions; many thousands are sent to Suez and Cosseir, and, if any of them die in the street, the Dola sends people to wash and bury them. I have seen them washing the dead in the public thoroughfare, by which every person is obliged to pass into the market-place.

18th. We got under weigh, with forty other boats, all laden with pilgrims; wind E. We ran along the shore N. W. by N.; in the evening we came to an anchorage called Koor.

19th. We sailed with scarcely a breath of wind, but paddled alongshore, N. W. by W. In about an hour, a light breeze off shore; our course W. N. W. In the evening we came to an anchorage, in a small creek, close to Ras-el-Gimum.

20th. Set sail with an east wind, course N. W. by W., about four in the morning, very dark.



The boat went about four knots an hour, and, being too hasty to alter our course, thinking ourselves clear of the reefs, about three miles from the coast or head-land, we ran fast upon the rocks. I leave it to be imagined what a scene this occasioned ; it is impossible to describe the terror of the pilgrims and some merchant passengers, the loud cries to Mahommed, and the filthy actions committed by all through fear. Not a soul offered to assist, but all kept bellowing out with all their might to Mahommed : the women were, if any thing, more courageous than the men. The *canga's* crew consisted of well disposed and able Nubians, who soon got part of the cargo of the vessel from the forepart of the stern, as she hung only by the bow ; they all got overboard to shove her off, while the *roban* was busy in driving the filthy pilgrims aft. He then bent a small sail like a stay-sail, to cant her bow off, while the crew shoved her off. He had not a creature to assist him but myself, although there were more than a hundred and fifty souls on board : in about a quarter of an hour, with hard work, we got her clear, without being bilged or damaged, and immediately up with our large sail, and hauled up clear from the reef. At day-break, the *roban*, seeing where he was, shaped his course N. N. W. While we were aground upon the rock, the *can-*



*gas* in company ran past without seeing us. A little after daylight the wind set in fresh from the E., and we ran fast alongshore, and soon came up with the others. The wind still freshening from the S. E., we ran alongshore North, in sight of the high islands Gib-el-Hassan and Libnar, and about three o'clock we were between Gib-el-Hassan and the main. The course which the sunken rocks obliged us to take was N. by E. and N. N. W. We hauled upon the wind, and came to an anchorage under the lee of Hassan, close to a town of neat huts, with scarcely any people, though there were more than a hundred huts. Having had no rain, the people had gone to the main for water. This is the residence of a wretched set of Arabs, who live upon fish, and, when they see vessels going past, they follow with their small boats until they are clear of the dangerous reefs near this place. When any vessel is wrecked, they take what property they can as a prize, without giving assistance to the crew and owners. At night the wind N. W., very strong, with drops of rain. We let go a second graplin, the sea rolling upon the beach with great fury astern of us.

21st. A boat came from the main at daylight with water, which we bought at a dear rate, only about fifteen gallons for a dollar. The wind being



more moderate, but N., we got under weigh, and beat off and on shore, until we weathered the small island of Massurah. About twelve o'clock the wind came N. W., and we lay alongshore N. by E.; soon after the wind veered a little westerly, and we stood N., between the four sandy islands, called El Madah, or El Maydar, and came to an anchorage between the northernmost and the land. We saw one *dow* and two *cangas* wrecked upon the reefs. Very near this there is a very large village of Arabs, who are of the same description as those of Gib-el Hassan, and before Mahommed Aly became powerful in this part, vessels were often plundered by them. Before the evening we put some of the pilgrims on shore, to pick up camels' dung for firing, for their own use.

22nd. The whole day nearly calm; we got under weigh at sun-rise, and pulled in a winding manner between the reefs, until about ten o'clock, when a light breeze sprang up, and we stood to the N. alongshore, but very slowly. About four in the afternoon, we stood in under the lee of a small island, called Woggarde, where we brought to between the reefs, by hooking the vessel to one ahead and to another astern.

23rd. We sailed at day-light with a N. E. wind, and steered along the shore N. N. W.,



within the long, low, sandy island Shabarar, and in about an hour hauled up between a narrow strait, called Sumbegar, between the islands Arler and Arfil, with large flat shoals. About two o'clock we ran N. between the islands Marrat and Rumromer; about four we hauled up to the N. E. by E., between two large shoals, with a rapid current running; and a little before sunset we were between the islands Sheik Mezrank, and the point of the main called Kur-Kurmar. On approaching Sheik Mezrank's tomb, the *rohan* and crew ate hot cakes and butter, and drank coffee, in honour of the Sheik: they afterwards hailed him, which is customary, and brought to off the west point, where the tomb is situated.

On the 24th, we got under weigh at sun-rise, with a stiff easterly breeze, and ran close along-shore, course N. About nine we ran between the main and the long high rock Gib-el Merduner, and in about an hour passed between the island Raiyerkar. We passed several wrecks of vessels yesterday and this morning, mostly belonging to Mahomed Aly. Running close alongshore, till about ten o'clock, we then put into a small bay called Wegg, which is a good harbour. The Bedouins came from their camp called Gillar, with water, wood, dates, &c., for sale. Mahomed Aly has about forty soldiers here, to look after the



provisions that are landed from Cossier for the army. I went on shore, after we came to an anchor, to buy some water and wash my cloths, and afterwards went to the market, which had but a scanty supply of dates, fish, goats' and camels' flesh, milk, and a few young kids, all very dear.

25th. Wind very strong from the N.N.W.; we could not quit our situation. I went on shore, and strolled about the rocks in search of shells, but found none, there being no coral-rocks near. The wind blew a gale the whole day, but we lay sheltered very snug.

26th. We got under weigh before daylight, with a land-breeze: about nine o'clock the wind came from the north very fresh. We beat off and on shore until after dark. About ten we weathered Ras Merkar, and stood into a small bay, called Antach, where we brought to in smooth water.

27th. We got under weigh at daylight, with a land-breeze, and stood alongshore N. by W. About nine the wind came N. and freshened by degrees, and we beat off and on between a small island with dangerous reefs, called Nerbeckeger. At midday, the wind still stronger, with a heavy sea, we ran to an anchorage, sheltered by a long reef called Zerbader.

28th. We got under weigh before daylight,



with a land-breeze, our course N. W. At daylight the wind came ahead and fresh, varying from N. to N. W. We beat off and on, between the reefs and the land, until sun-set, when we ran to an anchorage in the island Gib-el Naman, about two miles from the main.

29th. The wind still hard from N. W., and we remained at our anchorage. I went on shore to wash my companions' cloths, and not before they wanted it, as they had not been changed since we left Massowa. There were three tents of Bedouin Arabs, very miserable, with their children and women, who live upon fish; they have no water but what they bring from the main.

30th. Got under weigh with a N. wind, and made Bere Sultan, where we came to an anchorage in a small creek; here is good water in four tanks, built by order, they say, of Sultan Selim; they go by the name of Bere Sultan. Not having perfectly dried a cloth yesterday on which I slept, I was taken very ill; the cold here was very severe, and I was seized with a violent bowel-complaint, which I thought would have killed me, having no medicine to take for it. My female companion began to get very uneasy, and seemed to be more alarmed than myself; she blamed me for not having more thought, asking me if I had not forgotten the weak state to which I was re-



duced in Abyssinia. "You play with your constitution as if you had never been ill. Why do you go to every place we come to, to wash? It is better to bear the vermin, until God takes us away from them, than to make ourselves ill with striving to get clear of them, which is impossible." I felt these to be the worst moments of my life; had I been alone, I should have been more comfortable. I, being but one Christian, had to take care of two females of the same faith, who could not bear to be touched even by the Mahommedans. The cold benumbed my flesh, and my complaint became very violent, in a place too very inconvenient for such a disorder, in an open boat, without shelter from sun, rain, dew, or wind, and surrounded by Mahommedans of both sexes.

January 1st, 1819. We got under weigh very early, with the wind N. We lay alongshore N. W., half W. About ten o'clock the wind came right ahead, and in a short time blew a gale with a heavy sea, when I had the pleasure of seeing the pilgrims, who had laughed at me in my troubles, heartily frightened. With great difficulty our sail was taken in, and we bent a small stay-sail, and bore up for Bere Sultan, which we soon reached; in coming to, being too slack in making fast to the rocks ahead, we were driven on those



astern, and unshipped our rudder, which fortunately was easily repaired. After we were hauled off and snugly anchored, the *roban* went on shore, and bought me a goat for a dollar and a half; the *roban* and boat's crew being the only persons that seemed concerned about me, as I had been of much use to them from the time we left Jidda. Tringo prepared me some soup and rice, which did me much good. Old Agge Said, who came with me from Massowa, made me a medicine of coffee and black pepper, boiled as thick as possible, but whether this medicine did me good, or the soup, God knows; however, I began to get better.

2nd. This morning I found myself quite recovered. The wind still from the N. W., a heavy gale, and we remained at our anchorage.

3rd. Got under weigh at daylight, wind N. W., but moderate. After beating on and off shore, till about three in the afternoon, we put into a creek called Gyberat Ras Merarrash, a very good harbour for the largest coasters, but no fresh water, nor a soul to be seen, though not far from the town of Moeyleh.

4th. We got under weigh, with a light land-breeze, our course N. N. W., and passed about ten o'clock the town of Moeyleh, the pleasantest I have seen on the coast, being situated close to



the water's edge, and thickly planted with date-trees. The remarkable mountain Shar, which shews three peaks, when at Bere Sultan, here appears all in one. The wind N. varying to N. W., and fresh. After making two tacks, we came to a mooring at Mergahela, about four miles north of Moeyleh.

5th. We got under weigh, after bending the small sail, with a strong N. E. wind, course N. W. About eight o'clock the wind blew very hard, and a cross sea : not a dry rag, fore or aft, till we passed the island Yerbo under our lee ; we then steered due west, and ran past the islands to windward, Berrergast, Shoushoir, and Sannarfar. The wind became moderate and soon afterwards calm, and we came to an anchor on the west end of Sannarfar. I went on shore to collect shells about the rocks, but the cold so much affected my weak constitution, that I returned with very few.

6th. We got under weigh at daylight, with a north wind and fresh ; we ran past the island Terrain, due west. About ten o'clock the wind became very moderate, and we ran into Sherome, a fine harbour, but no water ; here we came to an anchorage, and found a *dow* that had been two months from Jidda. We landed our pilgrims, to get rid of part of their vermin, which they do



in a curious manner, by spreading their garments on the beach, and, when well warmed with the sun, they trail them, as they are spread, for several yards along the flat sand, which swept them off in numbers.

7th. We got under weigh at sun-rise with a N. W. wind; our course, until we passed Ras Mahommed, was S. S. W.: we hauled to the wind, by degrees, and lowered our sail a little, the crew bawling out a prayer to Mahommed and firing what arms they had, as a salute to the Prophet, when we up sail, and hauled to the west, as close as we could. After nearing the Bur Argam, on the west coast, we tacked, and came to an anchor under the reefs of Joubart Wogarde.

8th. Fresh wind from the N. W.; we remained at anchor.

9th. We got under weigh at day-light, with a light N. E. breeze. About twelve the wind came ahead, and we anchored close to the beach, under the lee of a low point called Cardehiger.

10th. We beat up to Sheik Jar, and on the 11th, to El-Tor, where I went on shore with my companions, and stayed for the night at the house of a Greek, who treated us very kindly.

12th. We left El-Tor, and beat up to Battan; 13th, to Abbu Derver; 14th, to Lizasart; 15th,



to Abbu Zeleme, in the Barrarkat Ferroun, or the Gulph of Pharaoh.

16th. To Hammum, where I went on shore, to see the hot salt water in the rock.

17th. We got a S. E. wind, which carried us near to Gib-el Suez ; here being no anchorage we kept at sea with scarcely any wind all the night.

18th. The S. E. wind took us into Suez, at daylight, close to the house of Marlim Michael, Mr. Salt's agent ; though a Christian he did not treat us like the Kaimakan of Massowa, the Jellarni of Jidda, and Nichola of El-Tor. From this place I wrote a letter to my master, Mr. Salt, who I heard was not at Cairo, to my severe mortification. Michael procured me camels for my baggage, &c., and I left Suez with the caravan, on the 21st.

In three days we reached the Beres, about three miles from Cairo, where the caravan stopped for the night. I persuaded my camel-man to drive on, saying that I would give him *bockshis* [a compliment] being anxious to see my countrymen ; but greatly was I disappointed, on entering the city-gate, Bab-el-Musser, where I was stopped just at sun-set. The gatekeeper, seeing me in my Abyssinian dress, a long knife and pistol tied to my loins, spear and shield, stared



very much, and asked me what I was. "An Englishman," said I, at which all present laughed and said they knew Englishmen. They then asked me for my papers from Suez. I told them I had none. "Then give three dollars each for those two slaves." I said, "I have no slaves," to which they replied, "Those women are slaves," and they ordered them to be taken off the camels. I jumped off my ass, and told them to touch them if they dared; the Turk spoke very well, saying, "You may see he is an Englishman, let him pass;" but an old Greek would insist upon the money. I told him, I would give him the length of my spear before I would give him a *duhanne*. After disputing, till near dark, he got tired, and I was allowed to pass.

I inquired of every one I met the way to the English Consul's, through narrow dark lanes, some having a light and others none, my poor companion frightened to death on the camel, while I was beating it on behind. At length I met some men, in European dress; I said to one in English, "Are you a Frenchman?" to another in French, "Are you an Englishman?" but got no answer: at last I met with one who spoke French, and, after explaining myself as well as I could, he shewed me the way to get near to the Consul's house. The lane was very narrow, and



turning the corner short, the baggage and the young Abyssinian girl were swept off the camel. Here I was obliged to stop, it being quite dark. Several Italians came about me, and asked me what I was? On bringing lamps, they stared at me: one said, "You lie, you not English." "I am," said I, "and, if you are a friend to them, lend me a hand to get this baggage to the Consul's." "You very droll English," said he, and stared, and went to the Consul's house, and brought a servant, whom I could not understand, nor he me. Indeed he stared at me more than any of the rest, and appeared to be panic-struck. At last he said, "*Vous n'êtes pas Anglois?*" I replied, "*Je le suis;*" he afterwards understood me a little better, and said, "There are two English gentlemen in the Consul's house," and told me to come to them.

When I reached the gateway, they insisted upon my leaving my knife, spear, and shield, there, and, being satisfied that I was in my master's house, I left them and went in. I shewed my passport, when the one, Mr. Jowett, said immediately he saw me, "Is not your name Pearce?" After Mr. Jowett had told the servant that I was a person belonging to Mr. Salt, he admitted me and my companions, and helped to get my things up stairs to the room which he had appointed me,



but appeared to be very shy. I lost two new drinking-horns in the street, where we were obliged to unpack the camel; he gave me a candle, and I went to look for them, but could not find them, at which he seemed to be much concerned, but I told him they were of no consequence, as every thing I had brought for Mr. Salt was safe.

We soon began to get a little better acquainted, and he made me as comfortable as possible. My mind began to be quite uneasy, not knowing how to proceed to my master; I was so much afflicted that I could not sleep. Tringo was as uneasy as myself, and more so, when I told her I was determined to leave her and go to Mr. Salt. "After bringing me through these troubles," said she, "are you going to leave me among Mahommedans? We will go together, or stay until Mr. Salt comes back." She dreaded eating what was killed or touched by the Mahommedans, and I was therefore obliged to tell her that every thing cooked and prepared in Mr. Salt's house was done by Christians. After some resistance, she consented to stop, in the care of Mr. Salt's servants, but among the women that were in the house.

I told Mr. Salt's agent that I wanted a Turkish dress, which I thought would be best for travelling in this country, and an ass to go to my mas-



ter. He told me that there were two English gentlemen going in four or five days' time, and that I had better go with them, but I said, "I do not know the gentlemen and perhaps they would not like my company." Mr. Jowett, hearing of my wish to go, came to me and offered to take me with them. Mr. Jowett, as well as Mr. Fuller, came several times to my apartment, to talk with me, and one day Mr. Jowett said to me, in the garden, "Which of us would you wish to go with, as we are going in two *cangas*. I replied, "That is at your own pleasure;" when he said, "You shall go with me, we will sail on Friday." I made a bow, thanked him, and went to Tringo, and gave her into the care of Mr. Salt's servant, assuring him that we all three belonged to Mr. Salt. I also desired him to take care of the cat, as my master would be very sorry if any thing happened to it. Soon after, Mr Jowett came again to me, and said, "Pearce, what are you in want of? Do you want any thing, do you want money?" I said, "I want nothing but health." He asked me if I could translate a chapter of the Bible, in English characters, into the Abyssinian language; I told him I could, and would do as many as he wished. I afterwards gave every thing I had brought from Abyssinia to Mr. Salt's servant, except my Journal, which I intended to take with me.



On the 30th day of Tur, which is the 6th of February, I took leave of my poor companion, who cried bitterly, and tried to persuade me to take her with me, or stop myself, or else swear, that I had not left her to eat Mahommedans' meat; upon which I called Mr. Sakt's servant, and told him that we all three were Mr. Salt's servants, and that if he insisted upon her eating the Mahommedan meat, or behaved in any way unkindly to her on account of her religious customs, Mr. Salt would be very angry. The servant promised to do all he could to content her, but she seemed quite dissatisfied, and said, "God will never forgive you, if you have sold me to the Mahommedans."

After going on board the *canga* with Mr. Jowett, and disputing some time with the reis, we set sail up the river, and after dark arrived at Old Cairo, where we stopped for the night.

7th. We left Old Cairo about nine o'clock, and, after sailing, pulling, and towing, until midnight, we came to Muzguna.

The 8th. We left Muzguna, and going on as yesterday, we came to Aszarla about midnight. We left Aszarla, and after towing along the west bank till about nine o'clock, we met Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni. Mr. Jowett hailed their boat immediately, and, after both boats had hauled to the



shore, I went with Mr. Jowett on board Mr. Belzoni's boat, and, after looking at the antiquities he had on board, I returned to our *canga* by myself, not having any one to introduce me to Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni, though I greatly wished to pay my respects to her, she being the first English-woman I had seen for a great many years.

I had not been many minutes away from Mr. Belzoni's boat, before he heard of my being there, and, as soon as he and Mrs. Belzoni learned my name, they desired their dragoman to call me. If ever pity and compassion were shewn to a traveller, I received them on this occasion from these benevolent persons. Mrs. Belzoni was at a loss what to put before me to eat, and indeed I was so much at a loss for English, that I could neither inform her, nor express my gratitude as my heart wished. She asked me if I had any spirits for my voyage. I told her that I had a few bottles, which Mr. Salt's servant gave me. "Oh!" said she, "that will not be enough; the voyage will be long and very cold." She then drew me off from her own stock four bottles, and gave them to a servant to carry to our boat.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni discoursed with me very kindly, and shewed great pity for my sufferings in Abyssinia; and I am sure I shall never



forget the kindness of this lady. After I had done eating, and was rising to let Mr. Jowett pass, she insisted upon my not going away, but gave me figs to eat. As Mr. Jowett, however, was of the holy order, I thought it best for me to go out on his coming in, for fear of offending him : she followed me, and stood with me on the ancient stone they had brought, and promised, though she had no particular business at Mr. Salt's house, to go thither purposely to see Tringo and console her, and have something killed for her by a Christian before her face. This treatment was so different from what I had hitherto experienced from Europeans at Cairo, that I could not leave them without feeling a sincere affection for them, and wishing that my voyage could have been with beings so humane and affectionate to a fellow-traveller. They often said : " We know what it is to travel ; every one is for himself in this part of the world, but we think it our duty to help others when it is in our power."

Upon quitting them we kept towing against wind and stream till late at night, when we stopped on the east bank at Nezla.

The 10th. We left Nezla, and went to the left bank towing and pulling against stream and wind : sometimes we walked on shore through the towns and villages, purchasing what the gentlemen were



in want of; and at night, after a long walk on shore, we arrived at Benasuef.

11th. This morning I went through all parts of the town, and returned to the boat about eight o'clock. Mr. Jowett was not up, but I made the people pull off. About two P. M. it blew a gale from S. W. so that the people could not tow the boat along: we therefore stopped at Melenhujer.

12th. We left, and towing along the west bank, against wind and tide, until after dark, we stopped for the night at El Fant.

13th. Left El Fant, and dragging the boat along, arrived in the evening at Abba Girje.

14th. We left Abba Girje, and towed the boat along, while we walked through the villages of Nezleter, Barzez, and Gullo Sunhe. In the evening we passed Summulol and Gibeltur, and at day-light arrived at Maneya Abdin Kisher Bey. Here we stopped to take bread for the crew, and I had time to go into every part of the town and into the warm baths. Going through the market, an ugly, stark-naked man ran up to me, and caught me round the neck. I gave him a blow in the stomach that felled him to the ground. The people were very angry, but when they found I was not a Mahomedan, they attributed it to my ignorance, and surprised me when they told me that this man was a saint.



About four P. M. we left Maneya, and, running against the stream with a strong N. W. wind, about ten at night we ran upon a flat in the middle of the river, where we lay until morning.

16th. We sailed, and dragged along the east bank, and about nine came to Sheik Ahbardah. I went through all the ruins with Mr. Jowett, which took us about three hours. In the evening we arrived at Remermun, Mr. Brine's fabric.

17th. I went with Mr. Jowett and Mr. Fuller to see the ruins of an ancient temple not far off. We were provided with donkeys by Mr. Brine's clerk. On our return, about four P. M. we left the fabric, and with a strong N. W. wind ran up the stream nearly all night, when we stopped till day at Kossier Lamarna.

18th. With a strong north wind we ran along the mountain Abba Faider. About ten we passed the town of Mamfalut on the west bank. Having a strong and fair wind, we kept on, and in the night arrived at Souet, or Shut. Early in the morning we went to the town. On our return, we left about twelve o'clock, the wind strong N. W. and we ran up the river very fast. We passed before dark the towns Abou Feik and Unnekealer. At midnight we stopped at Gow Shirk, and in the morning I observed some men, and afterwards a great number, breaking ancient stones to make



mortar. I went on shore, and found sixteen kilns burning. The captain commanding this company of lime-burners belongs to the Pacha, and a man told me he behaved so ill to the people of the village that they had almost deserted it with their cattle, so that neither fowls, eggs, nor milk, were to be had.

20th. We left Gow, having parted company in the night with Mr. Fuller's *canga*, Mr. Jowett's sailing much better. In the evening we met a party of English gentlemen, with Mr. Bailey, sailing down close to the town of Achmim, where we stayed for the night.

21st. Leaving Achmim, we ran up with a fair wind, passed Girger about three P. M. and after dark arrived at Bellener.

22nd. Having a fair wind we reached Kasserhu Syad.

23rd. No wind, and very cloudy. A little before sunset reached Dishner, where we stopped for the night.

24th. In the afternoon reached Dendera, and went on asses to see the temple, which took us till dark. On our return we went to the town of Ginné.

25th. Left about four o'clock P. M. with a fair wind, and fetched Negarde a little after eight.



26th. Reached Gerner. It took the whole of the 27th to look at the tombs, and after dark we went to Legho.

28th. Left Legho, and at dark arrived at Esneh.

In the morning of March 2nd, we left Esneh

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## APPENDIX.

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No. I.

### THE BUDAS.

The following story was told by a learned priest of Gojam, and he declared it to be true:—

As I was going to Gondar, to buy an ox for ploughing, I was overtaken by an acquaintance, who was a Buda, and lived near my house. As he passed me he said, "*Memerhe*, [Teacher] what are you going to market for?" "To buy a Bulla, or brown ox," said I, "to pair with one I have, the companion of which is dead; and I wish to get a good one of the same colour." He wished, he said, I might be successful, and went on fast before me. When I arrived at the market, I met with the same Buda's brother, who asked me the same question as he had done; I answered as before that I was desirous of a Bulla ox. He said that he had seen but a single good one of that colour in the market. I asked him to show it me, which he did, at the same time pretending he did not know the owner. On seeing the ox I was delighted, he being exactly like the one I had, and appearing



quite steady, though there was no mark of his having ever before had the yoke upon his neck. I bought him for fifty pieces of salt; on my road home towards evening, when among a number of people returning from market, with their cattle, my ox ran into the wood, among the bushes, where I soon lost sight of him; however I followed close after, and, searching well, found a naked man, who proved to be my neighbour, the Buda. I said to him, blowing and panting with running and fear, "Were you not my ox?"—"Your ox?" said he—"were not you my goat? The goat I bought in the market ran out of the road, and I have lost my cloth in pursuing him."—Knowing that I had been tricked, continued the priest, I said nothing, for fear he might change me into some other form, and I went quietly home, never daring to mention the circumstance in the neighbourhood.

The following story was declared to be true by more than fifty persons of Adowa.

An hyæna was shot in the leg near the river Assem, and in endeavouring to get off made towards the church Kudus Michael. Several hyænas were seen in its company when shot, and the people, running after it with spears, came up with five Budas, carrying a lame person. Some of the followers were afraid, but among them there were some gunners, who insisted upon seeing the person, and ascertaining whether they might not have killed him. As it was dark, they took them to the first house, and, by candle-light found a fresh wound in the man's leg, and the blood then running: the Budas were all naked, but no one dared to interfere in the matter, through superstition. The Budas are now said to be living in Adowa, and they have been pointed out to me; one is a clever smith of the name of Tuckeu Tubbil;



he makes good bridle-bits and knives, and has done many jobs for me. I have frequently asked him if such a report be true, to which he has answered, "It is true they say so, and they are not in the wrong for believing it." When he said this he laughed heartily.

While I lived in Adowa a curious circumstance happened. A Mussulman weaver, rather advanced in years, when sleeping at his door in the sun, with his hand at the back of his head, was seized by an hyæna, by the hand, and dragged to a considerable distance before he cried out any thing else but "*Alla arle*," [God is,] till the pain he felt, from his hand being between the jaws of the hyæna, caused him to alter his tone, and he gave three or four loud shouts, which are customary, and known by their wild shrill sound, which brought out the neighbours, who delivered him from the animal, but not before the bones of his hand were crushed. A few days after, while I was sitting with Blitingatore Woldi Gorgis, the governor of the town, this Mussulman came to lay the case before the governor. He said, "Sir, about a fortnight ago, Tuckeu Tubbib made a knife for me, for which I paid him, but he was not content, and wanted a sheep that was tied up in my house, which had been given to me by Ozoro Altash. This sheep I meant to keep till the feast of the Ramadan, and therefore refused it him. He went away in a passion, and that day week he came in the shape of an hyæna, and out of spite caught me by my right hand, which he has ruined for ever, so that I cannot work at my trade; I therefore beg you, *guilty*, [master] in the name of God, to see me righted." The governor, as well as those in company, laughed, and asked one another what they thought of the matter. Some said, "These things often happen, but what can be done? When one is killed, his brothers are left



to take revenge." The governor said, "He has taken hold of your hand out of spite, you say; and if he knows you are seeking revenge or recompense, he will catch hold of your throat next time; so you had better say no more about it." The old man went away, and when he had gone, they asked me if such supernatural beings existed in my country? I said there were none, and that my countrymen were not so weak-minded as to believe such nonsense. "No, Pearce," said they; "it is not nonsense, but real fact; there are thousands of them in our country," and they began to tell a number of similar stories.

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## No. II.

## THE CANONIZED ASS.

An old *negade*, or Mahomedan trader, of Gondar, who had made several journeys from Gondar to Massowa, in a mercantile capacity, with the *coflas*, passed through the country of Hamazen, which the *coflas* are frequently obliged to do, when Tigré, through which lies the direct road, is in a disturbed state. He had an ass, that had made nine journeys to Massowa, and was a great favourite. This ass, being old and fatigued, died on the road, where the *cofla* had halted for the night, and the old man said to the merchants in company, "Poor Berke!" the name of the ass, "he has made nine journeys with me, and I am determined that the hyænas shall not eat him. So, brothers, help me to make a pit for him." They accordingly dug a pit, in some rocky ground at the foot of the mountain, where they were encamped, and in digging they found by accident, in breaking some stones, a spring of water which ran moderately out



from the vein of rock into which they had broken. There they buried poor Berke, and put a great pile of stones on his grave, and the old man proceeded on his journey, with the *cofla*.

Some time afterwards the shepherds of the country observed this pile of stones and a moderate spring of water, which they were certain was not there many days before; they made this known to their respective villages, and the priests visited the spot, to pass their opinion upon it. It was immediately announced that some saint had died in heaven, and had been brought down by the angels and buried there. Accordingly, the whole of the neighbouring country assembled, and built a wall round this holy water, and the priests named it Kedaner-merrit. The circumstance soon became public throughout the whole country, and the lame and the blind, and those afflicted with diseases, frequented it to wash and pray, and it acquired a great name; superstitious prejudice leading people to believe that numbers had been cured by this water, and it is held in veneration until this day.

About six years after the death of poor Berke, the old negade happened to pass that road again, and, being curious to see the grave of his ass, he walked towards the spot, where he beheld a church, and a wall round it, and a number of priests, and people afflicted with diseases. The old man stared for some time, quite amazed, and at last said to a priest, "What, in the name of God, has caused the people to build a church here in this wild place?" The priest, in reply, told the old man that it was the grave of a saint, who had sent forth water from the earth, that cured all sorts of people who prayed to him on account of their diseases. The old man called out, in great surprise, "A saint's indeed! I say it is no saint's grave, but the grave of my old ass Berke. I buried him here myself, and there are people in the *cofla*



now that can attest it." The priests, on hearing such a statement, soon comprehended that he was a Mussulman, and they all flew upon him in a fury with sticks, and much bruised him, and would no doubt have killed him if he had not been rescued by the people of the *cofla*, who immediately ran to his assistance. The old fellow, however, still insisted upon its being old Berke's grave, which so much enraged the priests, who knew they were not able to conquer the *cofla*, that they went to the Argeldam, the governor of the district, who sent and had the negade brought before him. The priests desired that punishment should be inflicted without any farther hearing: but the Argeldam was too wise to consent to this, as he had always been a friend to the *cofla*, and knew the old negade well.

The priests, on the cause being heard, said that he had mocked their saint by calling his grave that of his ass Berke. "So it is," said the old man interrupting them, "the very grave of my ass Berke." "See," said they, "he says so before your face." "And so I do," said he, "and I will prove it." "How?" said the governor. "By digging up his bones," said the negade. "You are a Mahomedan," said the priests, "and you must first become a Christian before you can enter the sacred place." "No," said the governor, "if he does not prove the fact by finding the bones, then will be the time to make a Christian of him, or to do with him as you please." The priests, thinking it impossible he could find the bones of an ass in their holy place, consented, and a guard was sent by the governor to see the excavation made.

The old man remembered the right place, and several of the attendants went to work, and soon turned up the bones, when the old negade cried out, "There is poor Berke's skull and jaws! there are my poor old servant's legs, that



never failed me up or down the mountain Taranta!" and the old man wept as if they had been part of the remains of his mother. The priests, though at first confused, after consulting, said, it was not unusual for saints and angels to appear in the form of horses, and that they could prove the fact. Some of the people insisted that the jaw-bones should be taken to the governor, but not only the Mahomedans were interdicted from touching the ass's bones, but even the lay Christians themselves, the priests alone being allowed to touch those sacred remains. To finish the affair, the old man was again taken before the governor, who told the priests, that if any three priests could be found who would take oath to their having seen a saint, or angel, in the form of a horse, he would deliver the man to them to punish him as they thought proper. This they evaded, but said that "the book of Cullumsese, or Revelations of St. John, would prove it." The Argeldam then said, "If the book proves it, it is God's word and let God punish him." After some acknowledgments to the governor and priests, such as a present of a little pepper, cloves, a bottle, or what not from the sea-coast, the negade was set free.

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No. III.

THE CAMELOPARD, MONKEYS, &c.

The camelopard is a native of the northern and north-western boundaries of Abyssinia. The people of Shiré and Walkayt kill numbers, though they are very shy, and scarcely ever venture out of the thickest woods; it feeds upon the produce of trees and bushes, which causes it also to keep close to the woods; the make of this animal rendering it difficult for it to



eat off the ground without lying or squatting down. Shields and wings are made of the skin, and the long brush of wiry hair at the end of the tail, is used as a fan, when attached to a stick, to keep the flies from the face.

The different species of monkeys, besides those already described in the Journal, are as follows:—A large one of the common kind, with a dark brown and sometimes reddish face, and red hinder parts: when full grown it is very large; the colour of the hair is brown, intermixed with grey. It is called *avarrata*, and is very destructive in the corn-fields, especially where the poor natives have no guns.

The *farial*, or *graber*, is a kind of monkey, that is most common in the Galla districts, to the south-west, and in Agow Munnah, though it is frequently found in the Kolla, or warran parts, between Samra and Walkayt. The head and back are covered with a fine, black, short hair, and the hinder parts and shins with fine white long hair; the tail is very long. The smell of this kind of monkey is not disagreeable: when taken alive, it will be for some days sulky, and will not eat. If shot dead upon a tree, it seldom falls, for its death-grasp fastens it to the bough. Great numbers of their skins come to market to make ornaments, with the addition of the skin of the lion's paw, for the shield called *gerdhar*, as well as for fans, beautiful covers for sofas, couches, &c.

The porcupine, called *camfa*, is a very common animal, exactly the same as I have seen at the Cape of Good Hope.

The *estorah*, or *grey*, called the rock-rabbit, I also saw at the Cape. It is very common, but detested by the Christians, though the Mahomedans are very fond of its flesh.

There are numerous kinds of ground squirrels, called *tigay shewat*. Ferrets and polecats of different colours are to be found near all streams and rivers.



The large wild cat, called *derdommo*, or *ackledamma*, is common; a kind of leopard-cat, called *auna arra tubre*, much larger than the common domestic cat, is a most beautiful animal. I kept three, which were caught when quite young, and for a considerable time were very familiar, except while eating, when they became the most savage creatures I ever beheld.

A small red fox, which I never met with but in Samen, is smaller than our English fox.

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No. IV.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF  
NATHANIEL PEARCE.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Nathaniel Pearce, an English born subject, and baptised in the Parish of Acton, in the County of Middlesex, but at present at Alexandria, in Egypt; being of sound mind, memory, and understanding, though weak in body, do make this my last will and testament in the manner and form following: that in case an accident of death should happen to me, I give, devise, and bequeath unto Henry Salt, Esq., His Britannick Majesty's Consul General, in Egypt, all my Journals, papers, with the exception of none, for whom those facts were originally collected, and that he may publish them in whatever form he thinks proper.

Next, to my Abyssinia girl, Cullum, in acknowledgment for her zeal towards me and my late wife, I give one fifty pounds, one twenty-five pounds, bills on Messrs. Drummond & Co. of London, and twelve pounds ten shillings due to me



in exchange of my bill with the house of Messrs. Briggs & Co. this with every article of wearing apparel, and all other articles that I possess in the world, excepting what is herein mentioned: and that there may be no claim upon her of funeral charges, &c. to prevent which, I leave forty dollars in my chest, the price of a pair of pistols which I sell (and which pistols were given me by Henry Salt, Esq.) to pay my doctor's bill and funeral expenses. If the civilized world deem this not sufficient, let my funeral consist of Arabs, but at least to be buried where Europeans in general are who die in this country: I also leave to my dear girl Cullum a translation of the Gospel of St. John in the Tigré language, for which, on delivery, she is to receive fifty dollars from the Rev. William Jowett, of Malta, with this last I give her my blessing and recommend her to said Rev. William Jowett, in whose family she may be employed, and perhaps be the means of her getting back to her native country.

I also leave a silver chain, which I kiss in memory of my late beloved wife, to my niece, Ann Smith.

My sword and pistols I leave to my friend Wurkey, in case of his arrival from Abyssinia, of which country he is a native, but if he should not appear, Henry Salt, Esq. may do with them as he thinks fit.

In case of skins or horns, which belong to me, arrive in safety from Abyssinia, I leave entirely to William John Bankes, Esq.—My large English Bible, and all the books I have, to my friend Mr. Charles Hicks, of Alexandria, in Egypt.

One scarabee and one ancient Greek seal, and which are the only antiques I have, I leave unto Peter Lee, Esq. of Alexandria, in Egypt.

The little animal, in my possession, belongs to Lord Montnorris, to whom I beg Henry Salt, Esq. will get it conveyed.



The case also of ostrich feathers, in my possession, belongs to my brother, Joseph Pearce, of Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, to whom I also beg Henry Salt, Esq. will convey them, that he may receive them through the Custom-House, and pay the duty himself.

And I do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint as my executors, Henry Salt, Esq. his Britannick Majesty's Consul General in Egypt; and Peter Lee, Esq. British Consul at Alexandria: hereby revoking all former will or wills by me at any time heretofore made, and do hereby declare this to be my last will and Testament.

In witness, I the said testator have hereunto set my hand and seal, this thirty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

NATHANIEL PEARCE.

L.S.

*Witness,*

CHARLES HICKS,

B. VERNONIS, *Testimonis.*

We, the undersigned, do hereby declare that the signature to the above will is well known to us as the hand-writing of Nathaniel Pearce.

P. LEE,

R. THURBURN.

*Alexandria, Egypt,*

*31st July, 1820.*

THE END.





LONDON:

F. SHOBREL, JUN., LONG ACRE.















